

JEMF QUARTERLY



VOL. XIX

SPRING 1983

NO. 69

THE JEMF

The John Edwards Memorial Forum is a research organization, mailing address: at the Folklore and Mythology Center, University of California, Los Angeles 90024. It is chartered as an educational non-profit corporation, supported by gifts and contributions.

The purpose of the JEMFQ is to further the serious study and public recognition of those forms of American traditional music disseminated by commercial media such as print, sound recordings, films, radio, and television. These forms include the music referred to as *cowboy, western, country and western, old time, hillbilly, bluegrass, mountain, country, cajun, sacred, gospel, race, blues, rhythm and blues, jazz, soul, folk rock, rock and roll, and ethnic-American.*

The Forum works toward this goal by compiling, publishing, and distributing bibliographical, discographical, and historical data; reprinting, with permission, pertinent articles originally appearing in books and journals; and reissuing historically significant out-of-print sound recordings

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LETTERS

Dear Editor:

Recently the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York received a \$60,000 anonymous grant which was earmarked for the establishment of a complete open access Jewish music archives. The institute has over 2,500 78s plus hundreds of rare field recordings on tape.

I am currently in the process of transferring the 78s to tape (using modest, but effective hardware) making a cross-indexed card catalogue (drawing heavily on the work Richard Spottswood has done in documenting the discographical information on these items) and providing for easy "search-and-find" for the potential students and scholars. All the discs will be available on categorically divided cassettes and will have been carefully noised reduced to make the sound palatable for newcomers to 78 sound.

In addition to the sound archives, YIVO has an extensive and rare collection of handwritten scores from the Yiddish theatre, early published sheet music, turn-of-the-century broadsides and field transcriptions. These many items will eventually be hooked into the sound archive collection, making the cross indexing to sound and print availability complete.

I am asking the readers of the JEMFQ for their assistance in helping to locate any ephemera related to these fields for the YIVO archives. To date, there is no central archives anywhere in the world where serious scholars can turn to for guaranteed assistance in obtaining music or information in this area. We would greatly appreciate any leads for 78s, photographs, sheet music, home movies, cylinders, theatre programs, and the like. We do have a number of duplicate discs which we would be happy to exchange with other collectors for items not in our collection. Certainly, if any JEMFQ reader wishes to contact me about these items (or others), I would be happy to correspond.

--Henry Sapochnik
Sound Archivist
YIVO Institute for Jewish Research
1048 Fifth Avenue
New York, NY 10028
(212) 535-6700, ext. 39

Dear Editor:

I wish to bring to your attention a few omissions from my article, "Early Knoxville Radio (1921-41): WNOX and the 'Middy Merry Go-Round,'" (JEMFQ, Nos. 67/68). The footnotes as well as a partial transcription of a 1937 "Middy Merry Go-Round" show were not printed. Also missing were my acknowledgements to the following people who helped me in collecting the information: Jethro Burns, Archie Campbell, Dave Durham, Joe Epperson, Louise and Dennis Shehan, James M. Sievers, Kim Stover, Ivan Tribe, Richard Westergaard, and Charles K. Wolfe.

A final minor correction is that the caption to the photo on the bottom of page 112 should read "Tommy Carlisle" rather than "Tony."

--Willie J. Smyth
University of California
Los Angeles, CA

[We apologize to Mr. Smyth, and following are his footnotes and "Middy Merry Go-Round" show transcription--Ed.]

Notes

1. Charles K. Wolfe, *Tennessee Strings* (Knoxville: Univ of TN Press, 1977), pp. 28-34.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 35
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 11-14
4. See Charles K. Wolfe, *The Grand Ole Opry* (London: Old Time Music, 1975), p. 32.
5. Lester McFarland interview by Doug Morris, appearing in *The Knoxville Journal*, 10 December 1974.
6. Letter from Joe E. Epperson to Kim Stover, 24 August 1981 (used with permission of the author)
7. For a full account of the 1929 session and the personnel involved see Charles K. Wolfe, "Early Country Music in Knoxville: The Brunswick Session and the End of an Era," *Old Time Music* No. 12 (Spring 1974), pp. 19-33.
8. George C. Biggar, "The WLS National Barn Dance Story: The Early Years," JEMFQ VII, No. 23 (Autumn 1971), p. 107.
9. Epperson, 1981.
10. Letter from George Biggar to Joe Koehler of *Sponsor Magazine*, 15 April 1948.
11. Ralph Rinzier, "Bill Monroe" in *Stars of Country Music*, eds. Bill Malone and Judith McCulloh (Urbana: Univ of ILL, 1975), 210.

12. This group should not be confused with "Dick Hartman's Tennessee Ramblers," "Cecil Campbell's Tennessee Ramblers," or the Kessinger Brothers who also played under this name. See also Charles K. Wolfe, "The Tennessee Ramblers: Ramblin' On," *Old Time Music* No. 13 (Summer 1974), pp. 5-12.
13. Interview with Dennis and Louise Shehan in Knoxville, 25 July 1982.
14. David Grisman, "Jethro Burns: Jazz Mandolin Pioneer," *Frets* (October 1979), p. 39.
15. Interview with Archie Campbell in Knoxville, 18 August 1982. See also *Archie Campbell: An Autobiography* (Memphis: Memphis State Univ Press, 1982), p. 61.
16. Interview with Dave Durham in Knoxville, 19 September 1982.
17. Wayne W. Daniel, "We Had to be Different to Survive: Billy Carrier Remembers the Swannee River Boys," *JEMFO* XVII, Nos. 65/66 (Spring/Summer 1982), p. 59.
18. For an account of Lanham's days at WNOX, see "The Roy Lanham Story" by Ken Griffis, *JEMFO* X, No. 36 (Winter 1974).
19. Chet Atkins, "Chet Atkins Own Story," *Guitar Player* Vol. 6, No. 1 (February 1972), pp. 22-23.
12. Advertisement for Seven Springs Beverage Company - BLANCHARD voice-over instrumental "Stars and Stripes Forever" - DIXIELAND SWINGSTERS (2:00)
13. Instrumental "Washington and Lee Swing" - DIXIELAND SWINGSTERS (2:10)
14. Advertisement for Bruck's Beer - BLANCHARD voice-over instrumental "Stars and Stripes Forever" - DIXIELAND SWINGSTERS (1:30)
15. Letters read, dedications, etc. - BLANCHARD
16. Song "Old Faithful" - FRANKIE TURNER (12-year-old boy) backed by steel guitar and guitar (2:30)
17. Advertisement for Stanback Headache Powder - BLANCHARD. Instrumental back-up by JERRY COLLINS (piano) (1:30)
18. Comedy skit "The Educational Department" - BLANCHARD doing impersonations of band members (3:00)
19. Station identification and introduction of song - BLANCHARD (0:15)
20. Song "Touched in the Head" - DIXIELAND SWINGSTERS, BUCK HOUCHEMS (This song is one of the 24 sides recorded (on Bluebird) by the SWINGSTERS in 1937 & 38 in Charlotte, NC and Rocky Hill, SC (3:00)

The WNOX "Midday Merry Go-Round"
(November 17, 1937)

(Reconstructed with the help of Dave Durham from a tape supplied by Ivan Tribe.)

1. Introduction by LOWELL BLANCHARD over theme instrumental "Alabama Jubilee" played by DIXIELAND SWINGSTERS (Buck Houchens, Sax & Clarinet; Jerry Covins, piano; Cliff Stier, bass; Dave Durham, trumpet) (0:60) [times approximate]
2. Song "On the Back Porch (Smile, Darn You, Smile)" - DIXIELAND SWINGSTERS (0:30)
3. Instrumental "Darktown Struttin's Ball" - DIXIELAND SWINGSTERS (3:00)
4. Advertisement for Scalph's Indian River Tonic - LOWELL BLANCHARD (1:00)
5. Reading of fan mail, acknowledgment of birthdays, etc. - LOWELL BLANCHARD
6. Song "Smoky Mountains," vocal by TEX AND CURLY backed by unknown guitarists and TONY MUSCO on accordion (1:45)
7. Advertisement for Miller's Family Store - LOWELL BLANCHARD (0:50)
8. Breakdown "Dance All Night with a Bottle in My Hand" - "HAYWYRE DAVE" DURHAM, backed by unknown guitarist and TONY MUSCO on accordion (1:30)
9. Advertisement for Fieldon's Furniture - LOWELL BLANCHARD (1:00)
10. Dedications - BLANCHARD and "HUCKLEBERRY" (4:00)
11. Song "Convict and the Rose" - "HUCKLEBERRY" with guitar accompaniment (2:30)
21. Advertisement for Glenmore Clothing Store - BLANCHARD (0:30)
22. Instrumental "Choo Choo" - TONY MUSCO (accordion) with DIXIELAND SWINGSTERS (2:15)
23. Comedy skit - MONK (HANSON) and BLANCHARD as straight man. (5:30)
24. Song "Oh Suzannah" - MONK (HANSON) vocal with SWINGSTERS (3:00)
25. Dedications, etc. - BLANCHARD (1:40)
26. Advertisement for Kerr's Motor Company - BLANCHARD (1:00)
27. Instrumental "Fiddalobia" - DAVE DURHAM, fiddle; BUCK HOUCHEMS, clarinet, SWINGSTERS (2:40)
28. Advertisement for Postal Telegraph Service - BLANCHARD (0:30)
29. Dedications, letters, etc. - BLANCHARD (1:00)
30. Song "Waiting at the End of the Road" - BLANCHARD vocal with SWINGSTERS (2:30)
31. Song introduction - BLANCHARD (0:10)
32. Instrumental "12th Street Rag" - TONY MUSCO (accordion) (2:10)
33. Advertisement for Stanback Headache Powder - BLANCHARD (0:15)
34. Song "Skip to My Lou" - BLANCHARD vocal with SWINGSTERS

[TAPE ENDS]

COUNTRY-WESTERN MUSIC AND THE "NOW" SOUND IN TEXAS-CZECH POLKA MUSIC

By Clinton Machann

[Clinton Machann is a fourth-generation Texas Czech who loves old-time and country, as well as traditional Czech music. He is an associate professor of English at Texas A&M University and has published widely in the fields of American and British literature.]

It was a warm August night, 1977, and the festival grounds on the shore of Town Lake in Austin, Texas, were astir with the opening night activities of Aquafest. Czech Night was the first in a series of ethnically-oriented "nights" during the week-long festival, and the usual *ko-lače*, sausages, singing, dancing, and occasional *kroje* (traditional costumes) were in evidence. On a huge open dance floor, scores of couples danced to the music of a popular "polka" band while many others drank beer and listened. The band was playing its version of Ernest Tubb's "Waltz Across Texas."

The performance of this country and western classic, translated into the Texas-Czech waltz idiom, sounded jerky and clumsy in comparison to performances by local country music bands. However, when the band followed this number with traditional Czech and Moravian polkas and waltzes--"Nemelem, nemelem," "Louka zelená," "A ja sám"--the effect was quite different: the style seemed to fit the music.

Nevertheless, country and western songs have figured prominently in the repertoire of many Texas-Czech bands for many years--even those with names such as the Blue Vest Polka Boys. This generalization is more valid today than ever. At the same time, the mixing of typical Czech band instruments with typical country and western instruments has been increasingly prevalent in the last decade. The key shift is from various kinds of brass and woodwind instruments to various kinds of electric guitars. Most of the bands have a mixed arrangement of instruments, which may feature an accordion as well as a lead guitar for all of their music, while a few change over to a different set of instruments when they alternate sets of country and western music with traditional Czech music.

These changes in the music are one measure of culture contact. Music, after language, is probably the most important element in Texas-Czech culture and serves a variety of important social functions; however, the Texas-Czech culture is unique and related to the particular context of Texas culture and not simply a reflection of Old Country ways. Following is an outline of the history of traditional music within the Texas-Czech community, a brief examination of the dynamics of culture contact which it illustrates, and an analysis of the latest trends in this music as re-

flected in the repertoire of the bands in performance and in recordings.

In the past, the Texas-Czech culture was often isolated to a great extent from the larger culture. The great majority of the Czech and Moravian immigrants, who began coming to Texas in large numbers in the 1850s, settled in small communities--Dubina and Hostyn in Fayette County were the first two--and many lived almost self-sufficient lives. As late as 1930, a web of Czech farming communities was spread from the Coastal Plains through the rich blackland cotton land of central Texas. As many as 95 percent of the Czechs in Texas were farmers, with particularly large concentrations living in Austin, Fayette, Lavaca, and Washington counties. The 1920 Census of the United States indicates a foreign-born Czech population of 12,189 in Texas, making Czechs the second most numerous non-Mexican ethnic minority in the state (after Germans). According to the 1930 Census, the native-born population having foreign-born Czech parentage in Texas was 36,638. Actually, the real figures were probably much higher since, due to the uncertain political status of Bohemia and Moravia before 1918, and the fact that some Czechs had German surnames, many of the Czech immigrants were misclassified as Austrian or German.

Up to the time of World War I, it had been possible for large numbers of Texas-born Czechs to live their lives without ever having fully mastered the English tongue. According to the Texas Education Agency, Czech is still the third-most-spoken language in the state. Four Texas newspapers are still printed in Czech: *Našinec* and *Hospodář* are printed in Czech only, while *Věstník* and *Brethren Journal* use both Czech and English. In addition, at least seven radio stations broadcast from one to eight hours in the Czech language each week: KULP El Campo, KMIL Del Cameron, KTCI Gonzales, KHBR Hillsboro, KVLG La Grange, KFRD Rosenberg, and KTEM Temple. Several other stations regularly broadcast musical programs which include songs with Czech lyrics.

Next to the language, the music has always been the single most important cohesive force in Texas-Czech culture. An old Czech expression is *Každý Čech je muzikant* ("Every Czech is a musician"), and from the beginning of their settlement in Texas, almost every one of their communities had at least one orchestra.¹ Scores of



Czech musicians in Ellinger, Texas; January 1911. (Photo courtesy of Lucille Zaskoda Suska. Copy from University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio.)

Texas-Czech bands and orchestras have been organized throughout the years, many of them existing today with third- and fourth-generation family members. The Baca family provides a striking example of the Czech musical families in Texas. Joseph Baca, whose family was associated with a musical tradition, settled near Fayetteville in 1860. The first formal Baca band in Texas was organized by the immigrant's son Frank and eventually consisted of his entire family, including thirteen children, all of whom played musical instruments. Several of these children formed new Baca orchestras after they established their own families, and, in addition, other descendants of the immigrant Joseph formed Baca orchestras in various parts of the state. Other traditionally musical Czech family names in Texas include Adamcik, Adamek, Beseda, Bohac, Cerny, Cervenka, Divis, Dlabay, Drozd, Dusek, Dybala, Gerik, Honza, Ilse, Janecka, Jezek, Jurecka, Kohut, Kostohryz, Kovar, Krenek, Krivaneck, Kubala, Kubin, Kucera, Maca, Machart, Majek, Marek, Matocha, Matus, Mensik, Mikula, Milan, Motl, Mraz, Nesvadba, Nemec, Patak, Patek, Pavelka, Pavlas, Pokladnik, Rejcek, Repka, Ripl, Rippl, Sebecka, Shiller, Simek, Slampa, Slovacek, Sodek, Stransky, Vanek, Vrazel, Vrla, Vytopil, Zbraneck, and Zrubek.

Most of the early musical groups were of a type known as brass, military, picnic, or, sometimes, German. A typical arrangement of such a band is one or two clarinets or saxophones, two or more trumpets or cornets, and an accordion or dulcimer in the front row; a trombone, baritone, and perhaps a french horn in the second row; the drums, bass horn, and, more rarely a piano, in the rear. The band would play waltzes, polkas, overtures, and military music at public concerts and--dropping some of the brass instruments--waltzes and polkas for dances in the evening. When playing dance music, they would call themselves an orchestra rather than a band. Today, daytime public performances for the groups are rarer, and the distinction between a dance band and orchestra has become blurred.

It would be difficult to overestimate the influence of the music. I will always remember my vain attempt to coax an elderly lady into telling me one of the *posadky* (fairy tales) she had heard in her youth. She could not remember even one--but she spontaneously broke into song and sang the words to "Louka zelená" ("Green Meadow," a traditional waltz) a cappella. The singing of Czech folk songs had always been a popular pastime among Czech-Texans, and today several choral groups exist (along with a few folk dancing troupes) which are organized by fraternal, religious, and educational institutions. However, the dance bands which continue to play polka and waltz arrangements of the traditional songs, singing the lyrics in Czech, are, by far, the most important single factor in keeping alive the folk music tradition. A few of the more popular folk or traditional numbers are "Louka zelená", "Nemelem, nemelem" ("We Aren't Milling"), "Skoda lásky" (known in English as "Beer Barrel Polka"), "U

studanky seděla" ("She Was Sitting by the Fountain"), "A ja sam" ("I Alone"), and "Pode mlej-nem" ("Over the Mill").

Dances are held regularly at many of the 150 lodge halls of the SPJST (*Slovenská Podporující Jednota Statu Texas*, the *Slovak Benevolent Order of the State of Texas*), the chief Texas-Czech fraternal organization, and at many of the over-100 lodge halls of the KJT (*Katolická Jednota Texas*, the *Texas Catholic Union*). Also, many local community organizations sponsor annual festivals which inevitably feature the evening dance.

The community of Praha in Fayette County might serve as a symbol of the Czech culture as it is maintained in Texas. For most of the year almost a ghost town, this tiny community blossoms into a mass of thousands of people--most of them Czech-Texans--on Homecoming Day, August 15th of each year. The occasion begins with the celebration of mass in the little stone and wood church which sits on a hill overlooking the festival grounds. On the grounds food is served, after which the dancing and drinking begin, lasting far into the night. ("Budweiser Thanks its Fayette County Friends" reads a sign plastered on one of the numerous beer stalls.) Many such rural community centers are being kept alive mainly due to the loyalty of former inhabitants and their friends and relatives who now live in major metropolitan areas and return only on isolated weekends or festival days.

There are signs, however, that the Texas-Czech culture is disintegrating. The Czech language in Texas in its purest form is, for the most part, spoken by residents of homes for the aged. At a recent funeral in one of the Czech-Texas rural communities for a deceased elderly Czech woman (who had never really mastered the English language), the Brethren minister stumbled over the Czech prayers which he had been asked to recite, although he had preached whole sermons in Czech only a decade before. The language is rarely learned by third- and fourth-generation Czech-Texans. The reasons are not difficult to ascertain: depopulation of the rural areas; development of mass communication, particularly radio and television; technological innovations such as the automobile and the highway system; increased mass education; the formation in 1918 of Czechoslovakia, which siphoned off many potential Czech immigrants who might have recharged the Texas-Czech communities; and World War II which served to open up the isolated communities to the larger culture and the world.

In addition to these obvious reasons, however, the ideological commitment of the early Czech-Texan leaders and their descendants is important. Most crucially, they failed to incorporate Czech culture into formal American institutions. The Czech and Moravian immigrants who came to Texas in the second half of the nineteenth century in general placed a high premium on learning English; there were practical, as

well as idealistic, reasons for this. Representative of the attitudes of the Czech-Texans are a series of editorials written by August Haidusek, editor of *Svoboda*, one of the most influential early Czech newspapers in the state, published at La Grange. In 1889, he wrote:

We selected the United States for our mother country; therefore, our identical interest is here with these other citizens.... Anything that is beneficial to them cannot be harmful to us. Whoever recognizes this must recognize that our sacred duty is to become American citizens. ... When we do this we are obliged to support the American institutions not only because law requires it, but because it is our moral obligation.... Every sensible person understands that the most important part of a democracy is its educated citizens.... In a democracy the people tend to their affairs through their representatives. In order to get this work done well, the citizens themselves must understand it. That which we do not understand well we are incompetent to manage. The idea that a person who does not know the English language can be as useful an American as the one who knows is truly ridiculous. The people who do not understand are incapable of indulging in politics. (*Svoboda*, 14 January 1889)

Haidusek was known all over Texas as a political leader of the Czechs, and his view represents the blend of pragmatism and idealism in the attitudes of these early Czech-Texans. Although he was criticized by a few outspoken opponents when, as judge and school superintendent of Fayette County in 1886, he demanded that English must occupy the most prominent place in the school curricula (*Slovan*, 6 May 1886), there can be little doubt that Haidusek's views were shared by the great majority of Czech-Texans.

In another editorial, Haidusek went even further:

We came here strangers, but were received kindly. We came in contact with people who speak a different language and who support a different form of government from the one in our native country. These people were here before we came. They are proud of their forefathers and customs, and like no one who wishes to change them; therefore, when a foreigner comes here we should support all their institutions. (*Svoboda*, 31 October 1889)

In fact, the Czech-Texans did maintain a distinct identity; many elderly individuals still use the term American to describe American citizens of Anglo descent only, although third- or fourth-generation individuals almost invariably describe

themselves as Americans. However, as Haidusek's attitude shows, American institutions were to be deferred to, accepted wholeheartedly. Thus, little attempt was made to incorporate Czech culture into these institutions (i.e., the public education system). Instead they relied on distinctively Czech fraternal and religious organizations, which were highly effective only so long as a relatively insular rural or small-town community structure was maintained. The spoken language, the most obvious indicator of cultural identity, is dying. The music, on the contrary, is flourishing. But it is changing.

The adoption of country and western elements to their music is not surprising, because country and western music is the closest thing in America to a live tradition of Anglo rural folk music, and the Czech-Texans are a predominantly rural-oriented people. In Texas, the traditional Czech music is now being kept alive as a cultural expression and as an aesthetic link with a pastoral past. Although it fulfills immediate emotional needs, it is, essentially, archaic and ritualistic; not suitable for adaptation to a new, industrial, urban age, new ways of life, and changing values. Country and western music, on the other hand, with its constantly evolving forms, is. Even the conservative hard-core lyrics favored by the Texas-Czech bands--for example those originally recorded by George Jones--deal precisely with important problems such as alcoholism, infidelity, and rootlessness in the new age, problems closely associated with the "honky tonk" enclave in the big city. Czechs, like other Texans, look to the country and western musical traditional because it is still to some extent a genuine rural folk tradition brought up to date.

According to Ray Doggett, of Guide Records, who produces the majority of the recordings made by the Texas-Czech bands, approximately 50 percent of the standard repertoire now performed at dances can be classified as "country and western."² About 25 percent of the songs recently recorded by the five most popular bands--the Vrazel Polka Band, Joe Patek, the Hi-Toppers, Lee Roy Matocha, and the Red Ravens--can be thus classified. Approximately one-third of all songs recorded by the bands are sung in Czech.

The manner in which country and western music is being incorporated into the Czech ethnic music is most graphically illustrated by the cover notes from a Red Ravens album released in late 1976 (*Guide* 1045):

This album could easily be described as the "Now Sound" of Polka. ... To understand completely how important the above statement is, let's return in time to only a few short years ago, when to be a recognized polka band, you played with a .bass horn or the bass on records was derived strictly from the bass portion of the drums....

Guide records was one of the first Polka labels in the United States to start using...a guitar. At that time, which was only nine short years ago, the words "Country and Western" was not spoken in the same sentence as Polka Music. However...we presented the first Polka LP on the market with the country sound, calling it the "New Country Polka Sound." Also...we started using from two to three songs on each album that were strictly country and western songs even though this was not accepted outside of Texas. However, we felt that country music was going to be the accepted sound of the future so we encouraged Texas Polka Bands to use the songs that were most requested at their dances. We went on to use more country and western songs with our never forgotten "Old Time Polka Tunes" which people will never forget and always love, and the fact...remains that a polka band that presents some country and western tunes in their dance presentation is the most

in demand and has the largest following today.... The big difference [in the Red Raven style] is the country flavor that is used on the "Czech vocals."

Significantly, the shift to the new sound is seen as an attempt to align the recordings and their traditionally more conservative repertoire, with the popular music requested at the dances. It is also interesting that the album notes call attention to a stylistic trait that is related to, in fact is the obverse of, that noted in the music of the band playing at the Austin Aquafest, described at the beginning of this essay: the Red Ravens perform the old music in the new style, smoothing the "choppy" polka rhythms, even when singing the Czech lyrics.

In future years, it will be instructive to observe the persistence of the distinctively Czech ethnic components in the music, especially the singing of Czech lyrics in the "'Old Time Polka Tunes' which people will never forget." This phenomenon will be one important reflection of the viability of the Texas-Czech culture as a distinguishable entity and, on the other hand, an inverse measure of assimilation.

--Texas A&M University
College Station, Texas

NOTES

1. Much of the information in this and the following paragraph is taken from an unpublished study of Texas-Czechs, prepared by Calvin C. Chervenka and James W. Mendl, Jr. for the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory Ethnic Heritage Studies Program, Austin, Texas, 1975.
2. Information about current Texas polka bands was furnished to the author by Ray Doggett of Guide Records, Houston, Texas. in private correspondence of 1 February 1977.



The Baca Band in the 1960s. Ray Baca is seated, front, and his son Gil is standing behind him. (Photo courtesy of University of Texas Institute of Texan Cultures at San Antonio.)



Philmore Deal at the piano in his home, Connelly Springs, NC, ca. 1954.

THE DEAL FAMILY: CAROLINA GOSPEL SINGERS

By Clarence H. Greene

[Clarence H. Greene, 38, is a free-lance author living in Hudson, NC. He is co-owner and operator of Hudson Trading Post, a small music shop. Greene teaches stringed instruments at his shop, has a Bluegrass band, and collects old country records. He has been published previously in Bluegrass Unlimited, Pickin', and other journals in addition to the JEMFQ. He is a former newspaper editor.]

The Deal Family, a gospel quintet from Burke County, North Carolina, recorded twenty sides for Columbia in the late 1920s which were issued in the company's popular 15000 series. The Deals also cut four sides for Okeh in 1927 under the name Valdese Quartette. Most of their recordings are characterized by strong vocal performances. At least some of the titles appear in old gospel songbooks, while others most likely are originals composed by members of the group. The great majority of these recordings are punctuated by organ choruses, while at least two of the Columbia sides feature guitar accompaniment (see Discography following).

The Deals were from Connelly Springs, a small community located near the Caldwell County Line. Their ancestors had emigrated from England in 1725 with a 400,000-acre land grant from King George I. This enormous boundary extended from what is now the town of Hickory (Catawba County) to Morganton (Burke County), along the Catawba River to the edge of the South Mountains, now known as the High Peak-Flat Gap-Mineral Springs Mountain area in the northern Carolina piedmont.

As indicated by their name, the Deals were a family group consisting of a father, three sons, and a daughter. Philmore Deal, lead singer and pump organist, headed the quintet. The other singers were John E. Deal, tenor; Melvin Deal, baritone; Vadia Deal Lail, alto; and George Deal, bass. All are now deceased.

Philmore Deal (6 March 1881-24 May 1968) was a music teacher. He taught "singing schools," was a staunch Baptist and Republican, and once even served as deputy sheriff of Burke County. Deal also worked as a scout for the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, locating illegal whiskey stills in the county.

The Deal Family was signed to an exclusive one-year contract with Columbia Records on 31

March 1927. Although it is not known how the initial contact was made, the agreement is somewhat unusual in that it was prepared by Philmore Deal himself and signed by Deal and Frank B. Walker of Columbia. Deal agreed to record "six or more" selections with his group and was to be paid \$30 for each acceptable one. The contract also specified that Columbia was granted an additional period of one year as "an option upon [the group's] exclusive services as singers for recording purposes."

The Deals's initial session for Columbia was held in Atlanta, Georgia, in the early Spring of 1927. Six sides were waxed. A friend, Charles Abee of Drexel, North Carolina, drove the family to Gastonia where they boarded the Crescent Limited, one of the Southern Railway's crack passenger trains which stopped in Atlanta.

Before returning to Atlanta for their second Columbia outing, the family recorded four tunes for Okeh in Winston-Salem on 19 September 1927. Perhaps because of the "exclusive" contract with Columbia, the discs subsequently appeared under the pseudonym, Valdese Quartette.

The group recorded six more selections for Columbia during the Atlanta session of early November 1927. Two additional sides were made the following April (1928), and the family's final recordings in April 1929 included two selections ("You Must Unload" and "The Glory Train") which feature unknown guitar accompaniment in lieu of Philmore's organ. (According to surviving members of the Deal family living in the Valdese area today, the guitarist was from Gastonia, North Carolina.) Correspondence from Frank Walker to Philmore Deal dated 3 April 1929 indicated that, at least for their final session, the Deal Family received \$90 for traveling expenses to Atlanta.

--Hudson, North Carolina



The Deal Family (seated 1 to r) Philmore Deal, John Deal; (standing 1 to r) Bradford Deal, Ann Deal Setzer, Grace Deal, George Deal, Vadia Deal Lail, Melvin Deal

DEAL FAMILY DISCOGRAPHY

30 March-1 April 1927, Atlanta, Georgia

The Deal Family: Philmore Deal, lead vocal and organ; John E. Deal, tenor vocal; Melvin Deal, baritone vocal; Vadia Deal Lail, alto vocal; George Deal, bass vocal.

143832	Everybody Will be Happy Over There	Co 15147-D
143833	Working and Singing	Co 15176-D
143834	A Wonderful Time	Co 15191-D
143835	Be a Daniel	Co 15176-D
143836	The Sinless Summerland	Co 15191-D
143837	I'm a Rolling	Co 15147-D

19 September 1927, Winston-Salem, North Carolina

Valdese Quartette: same personnel as above.

81347	Waiting the Boatman	Ok 45161
81350	Just Over the Glory-Land	Ok 45161
	Walking Along with Me	Ok 45199
	He Holds Me by the Hand	Ok 45199

4-5 November 1927, Atlanta, Georgia

The Deal Family: same personnel as above.

145124	Beautiful Home Somewhere	Co 15214-D
145125	'Twill All be Glory Over There	Co 15248-D
145126	Oh! Come	Co 15359-D
145127	I'm on My Way to Glory	Co 15359-D
145128	He's Coming Again	Co 15214-D
145129	Joy among the Angels	Co 15248-D

14-20 April 1928, Atlanta, Georgia

The Deal Family: same personnel as above.

146070	Jesus Paid it All	Co 15285-D
146071	God Shall Wipe Our Tears Away	Co 15285-D

18-20 April 1929, Atlanta, Georgia

The Deal Family: same personnel as above, with the addition of unknown guitar accompaniment on 148365 and 148367.

148365	You Must Unload	Co 15412-D
148366	Give Me Your Hand	Co 15412-D
148367	The Glory Train	Co 15451-D
148368	The Home Coming Week	Co 15670-D
148369	Where Shall I Be	Co 15670-D
148370	Rocking on the Waves	Co 15451-D

JOHN HENRY REVISITED

By Archie Green

Discographers and bibliographers constantly sail between dangerous reefs. In our navigation we face twin obstacles: 1) Is search complete? Have we poked into enough corners? Does a prize entry elude us? 2) Assuming that lists of records and books can ever be made "final," what does this continuous grubbing for data mean? Lists do serve as scholarly tools in their own right, but additional value accrues to them when each discography/bibliography is yoked to large concern. We need to ask how one harnesses a self-contained catalog of recordings/publications to issues at the frontier of knowledge.

I open with such questions because a new book at hand again poses matters of significance in discography/bibliography. In May 1983 the Greenwood Press (Westport, Connecticut) published Brett Williams's *John Henry: A Bio-Bibliography** as the third book in a new series on American heroes. Preceding items covered Davy Crockett and Knute Rockne. Other figures will be treated in future volumes in "Popular Culture Bio-Bibliographies: A Reference Series."

Professor Williams teaches anthropology at American University in Washington, D.C. She is especially concerned with everyday expression (ephemeral print, instant sound, enveloping film) and how these forms emerge and are managed in the United States. Williams shares membership in the academic band of scholars dedicated to advancing the disciplined study of our popular culture. However, we lack a ready name for such formal consideration. To note that a teacher is a linguist or historian conveys a sharper sense of subject than to say that one studies or teaches popular culture.

This matter of definition arises once more, in that Greenwood has issued Williams's *John Henry* within a popular-culture series. The two previous scholarly books on John Henry (by Guy B. Johnson, 1929; and Louis W. Chappell, 1933) were written, respectively, by a sociologist and a ballad scholar, and aimed at readers who perceived John Henry as a figure within the folk's memory. Greenwood's current strategy suggests that John Henry now fits more readily into a popular than into a folkloric mold. I do not suggest that folklorists should neglect Williams's book, for we must follow John Henry wherever his hammering echoes. Since his origin can no longer be verified, we had best explore the meaning of his heroism.

We can join other seekers in asking: Who cherished the memory of John Henry for the four decades before his work song and ballad fell into collectors's nets? To whom is he presently significant? Can John Henry simultaneously serve discrete audiences and be an all-American hero?

Williams's book divides into six expository chapters, a bibliographic checklist, a discography, and an appended interview. As well, it includes a ballad text and four useful illustrations. The main chapters concern John Henry's life, exploration of his trail, appearance in folksong, analysis of this tradition, tributes in literature/art, and wide appeal. In a brief preface, the author identifies her initial attention to John Henry as springing from fascination with railroading. Like some other rail fans, she carried this curiosity about a black laborer into college studies, reopening again the query whether or not John Henry lived as a figure in history.

Baldly put, neither Williams nor any other scholar has demonstrated empirically that an actual John Henry ever contested a steam drill during the construction of the Chesapeake & Ohio's Big Bend Tunnel, 1870-1872. Sensibly, Williams joins lore from imaginative balladry to verifiable information from formal history: railroad tunnel construction, steam-drill technology, the circumstances of recently freed slaves in Appalachia. Hence, in her book's opening she reconstructs how a "real" tunnel driller might have lived and worked in West Virginia's mountains.

Part of my pleasure in this book arose upon reminders of sources I had encountered previously. Additionally, I liked the wealth of new material cited, and of beckoning leads for future reading. Beyond her gathering of data, I enjoyed following Williams's trail from railroadiana to ballad studies to critical analysis of the American scene. I do hope that *JEMFO* readers will share their knowledge and collectanea with Professor Williams.

An expressive item's shift from the folk's possession to that of mass-culture merchants is not always visible. For John Henry we narrow in upon 1931, when Roark Bradford's novel appeared. A host of children's books and films followed. Previously, Fiddlin' John Carson, in 1924, had

*For a review of this book, see p. 61.

recorded "John Henry Blues" (Okeh 7004). Carson, with roots both in Blue Ridge subsistence farmsteads and in Atlanta blue-collar workshops, participated in the melding of American folk and popular musics. Hence, we value his Okeh recording as a fine traditional variant, and as a harbinger of hundreds of popular John Henry discs to come.

Among singers who followed Carson's "John Henry," one finds: Chet Atkins, Harry Belafonte, Johnny Cash, Woody Guthrie, Burl Ives, Aunt Molly Jackson, Huddie Ledbetter, Bill Monroe, New Christy Minstrels, John Jacob Niles, Odetta, Paul Robeson, Carl Sandburg, Merle Travis, Doc Watson, Josh White. (I know of no better way to demonstrate John Henry's breadth than to picture, in their separate parlors, the listeners to sound recordings by these many performers.)

We look to pop recordings and stories for children to measure wide appeal. Beyond sales figures, we can ask why so many Americans across lines of craft, class, region, and race continue to absorb narratives about John Henry. Professor Williams ties this popularity to a guiding notion of ambiguity. In a sense, her John Henry still lives in tunnel shadows. Our uncertainty about the hero's status stems partially from the circumstance that we know him from song rather than from formal history. John Henry's long journey through dual realms, folk and popular, helps obscure his trail. Additionally, each author/illustrator of a juvenile book has given Americans a variety of cloaks in which to dress John Henry.

Folklorists generally assert that pop culture sanitizes or softens folksong. This may be true for considerable material. However, Williams points out that John Henry is neither flat nor weak. Instead, he symbolizes power. In song, after John beats the machine and dies, his power ebbs. Nevertheless, in imagination he continues hammering, not only at steel drills but also at American concepts. More particularly, listeners use the song to hammer out their own realities about identity and community. I do not suggest that all who place a John Henry song on a record player consciously ask philosophic questions after each listening. Instead, I invoke the hammer metaphor to ask how separate listeners handle the song's affective power.

Does John Henry's now-familiar story help us question whether or not any black laborer ever beat a white Captain's machine? Did John Henry die only because he was black or, rather, because all workers die who defy modernity? How does John Henry, the loser, continue to function in a society caught up by worship of competitive sports and entrepreneurial spirit? Ideally, the C & O contractor (builder/capitalist) who brought the steam drill to Big Bend should have been honored in song. Perversely, we may have elevated the wrong driller to America's Olympus.

These are large questions, which to some degree resonate as we hear or read about John

Henry. The academic phrase "affecting presence," offered by Robert Plant Armstrong in his 1971 book on Yoruba art, serves well here. Creative acts and vivid performances hold the potential to change our consciousness as they send us in new directions. Within the John Henry ballad a century-old story is told, yet we are touched by each fresh listening as if we were at Big Bend. Other ballads may invoke nostalgia for yesterday; John Henry talks for today, for he alters self perception. My reading suggests that the ballad's affective power derives from its blows directed against conventional American formulas for relations between races and economic classes.

Williams, too, accounts for these social views, placing them in John Henry's many contexts: traditional black culture, white country culture, the political New South, railroad labor, railroad romance, railroad exploitation. But she is not satisfied to leave John Henry as a mechanical symbol of race or class conflict, for she probes the song's ultimate appeal. Using ambiguity as a guide, she relates this key to John Henry's versatile roles. Our own struggle to encompass his diversity, or, to answer the many questions posed by the ballad, generates tension. Williams sees the resolution of such tension in empathy for John Henry's tragic destiny. "A man ain't nothin' but a man," translates to universality as John Henry transcends the uncertainty of role shifting. His courage reaffirms human worth; he embodies the best in family and human solidarity.

We reach for a large scale in measuring John Henry's power by suggesting that his lore comments on matters of race and class. Williams, in her book's conclusion, turns back to John Henry's elemental courage. He emerges as the courageous child desired by every family--strong in work, dignified in death. No great gulf separates her reading and mine. John Henry is clearly a platonic individual articulating human strength. As well, he forces us, upon each listening, to rebuild our understanding of American experience.

I have known the John Henry song since school days, and first treated extensively his work chantes in *Only a Miner* (1972). Yet until I read Williams's book, I never understood fully that the driller's hammer might serve as a metaphor for the construction of consciousness. My reading asserts that a folk ballad, which nominally "preserves" or "mirrors" a picture out of the past, comes to life in infinite present performances. Its appeal, then, is measured by the degree to which the song touches and changes our present sense of reality. When we internalize John Henry narratives to grip matters of identity and community, the hero succeeds in his hammer blows.

In the course of Professor Williams's research, she drew upon a tremendous gathering of fact and interpretation, including Norm Cohen's

Long Steel Rail (1981), as well as two of my *JEMFO* Graphics: "John Henry Depicted," Issue no. 51 (Fall 1978) and "Fred Becker's John Henry," Issue no. 53 (Spring 1979). "Palmer Hayden's John Henry Series," Issue no. 60 (Winter 1980), appeared after she had completed basic research. While her book was in press, she informed me of several items which I had overlooked. Hence I use this present feature to bring some of her material (as well as that of others) to the surface.

The categories below correspond to my checklist of 1978.

I) Books and Journals

1930--Rose O'Neill for Roark Bradford, "John Henry--What a Man," *Hearst's International-Cosmopolitan*, 89 (December, 1930) 32; "He Was Her Man," 90 (January, 1931) 72; "John Henry," 90 (March, 1931) 56; "Down the Road with John Henry," 90 (April, 1931) 82.

In four issues, *Cosmopolitan* condensed and serialized Roark Bradford's *John Henry* (1931). This novel, widely popular in the 1930s, has not held up with time's passage. One of the last white writers to contrive fiction out of Negro folklore, Bradford exploited dialect and burlesqued black experience. Occasionally he crafted a vignette which sparkled but, in the main, he burdened the hero with caricature, a force greater than the steam drill's thrust. Harper & Brothers wisely chose J. J. Lankes to illustrate Bradford's *John Henry* with bucolic woodcuts more lasting than the novel's text.

By contrast, *Cosmopolitan* selected Rose O'Neill to provide eleven drawings for the magazine stories. This artist--understanding the conception of John Henry shared by Bradford and his editors--offered stereotypes of cute babies, toting stevedores, and a seductive Julie Anne. I reproduce three drawings (stevedore, hammerman, Julie Anne) to mark John Henry's magazine debut. I note, also, that Eben Given's dignified portrait of the hero for Frank Shay's book *Here's Audacity* had appeared in October 1930, just two months before *Cosmopolitan* began to serialize Bradford's novel.

From the vantage point of 1983, O'Neill's connection to the John Henry legend seems both wondrous and absurd. Yet, in the Depression pit, her drawings were most appropriate to *Cosmopolitan*, for the editors employed light fiction and lush illustration as an antidote to national gloom. O'Neill (1875-1944) will be remembered by many as the creator of Kewpie Dolls--piquant half-elves and half-babies, with signifying topknots. Copyright in 1909, these plump "cupids" earned her more than a million pre-inflation dollars. At least five million kewpies were sold throughout the world. Originally made from bisque, an unglazed ceramic, the later dolls were made from celluloid, bakelite, glass, rubber, wood, cloth, paper, and even ice cream.

Rose O'Neill was an exquisitely beautiful woman, the toast of Paris salons and Greenwich Village studios. Beginning cartoon work as a teen-age convent girl, she graduated to two marriages, fame and riches as a women's magazine illustrator, and the constant publication of her romantic poetry and novels. Long before the term *jet set* appeared, she entertained celebrities and charlatans, alike, at her Villa Narcissus on the Isle of Capri, and her Carabas Castle on Connecticut's Sangatuck River. In retirement, at her Bonniebrook Mansion near Branson in the Missouri Ozarks, she shared recollections with fans from near and far, including her "neighbor," folklorist Vance Randolph. (A conversation between O'Neill and Randolph on John Henry would now be priceless.)

Today, by placing Rose O'Neill's and Eben Given's early depictions of John Henry side by side, we see the great arc of ambivalence with which readers of popular fiction and popularized folklore met a legendary black exemplar during the 1930s. In retrospect, O'Neill was followed by others who presented John Henry as cloying or demented, while Given was followed by those who saw this same figure as a demigod. With the hindsight of a half-century, we can best place O'Neill's burly roustabout and his pudgy sweetheart in perspective by noting the unending struggle to see black life clearly within white America.

II) Sheet Music

1922--"John Henry Blues," composed and published by William Christopher Handy, New York.

For my 1978 report, I had been unable to locate much of the relevant John Henry sheet music. Of the material I found, only a few items held appropriate cover art. During my search at the Library of Congress, I had found Handy's "John Henry Blues," but put it aside for want of a picture of the hero. However, the current publication of Brett Williams's *John Henry* compels attention to Handy's piece. The cover's decorative borders hold interest today by their visual inclusion of a phonograph record and a player-piano roll as suitable parallels to sheet music. Handy's rare item deserves a formal report beyond this feature; perhaps readers will bring additional details to the surface.

I reproduce only the cover and inner cover page of "John Henry Blues." This presentation copy to Robert Winslow Gordon honors the founder of the Archive of American Folk Song at the Library of Congress, but the inner page, holding Phil H. Brown's "The Tragedy of John Henry," establishes this sheet music's real worth--the first extended commentary on the hero aimed at general readers. To appreciate Brown's achievement, I outline the limited references to John Henry available before 1922. (For full citations consult Williams's book.)

Between 1909 and 1919 several fragments and a few complete texts of John Henry appeared in the *Journal of American Folklore*. One collector, John Harrington Cox, encountered West Virginia ballads about John Henry and John Hardy, believing these two men to be the same person. In 1914 W.A. Bradley reported that Berea College students sang John Henry. In 1919 Schirmer issued *Negro Folk-Songs* by Natalie Curtis-Burlin, based on work at the Hampton Institute. A "Hammerin' Song" of twenty-seven stanzas included John Henry references. The Cox linkage of Henry-Hardy stimulated serious attention to both ballads, while the Hampton booklet helped bring the song to urban audiences.

Apparently no one before Phil Brown had heard enough lore about John Henry to undertake an "explanation" beyond the pages of an academic journal. Brown knew that the "colored king" led section-hands, quarrymen, drillers, and riveters, and he highlighted the contest with a pneumatic riveter rather than a tunnel steam-drill. (Can we assume that Brown had never heard anyone place John Henry at the C & O's Big Bend?) The author wisely suggested two endings for the tragedy: the hero makes a supreme effort against the machine and falls dead; the hero acknowledges defeat, fades away, and leaves a blues requiem.

Who was Phil H. Brown? Was he black or white? Where did he encounter these occupational traditions? How did Handy know him? Did Brown pursue folk subjects for other publishers? In 1926 Handy included "John Henry Blues" in *Blues: An Anthology* (a handsome, widely-read volume illustrated by Miguel Covarrubias), but dropped Brown's commentary of 1922. Did this account seem out of date by 1926?

Handy did not acknowledge Brown in his autobiography, *Father of the Blues* (1941). Handy noted musical source alone: "My 'John Henry' is a song of three distinct strains, two of which are pure compositions, the third the simple melody I heard in the rock quarry when I was a kid. Even that folk passage, however, is embellished by harmonization and rhythm" (p. 139). Previously Louis Chappell had queried Handy about his unusual treatment of John Henry as a riveter. Apparently the composer was more conscious of tune than text, for he reported only hearing this boyhood melody at Alabama's Muscle Shoals Canal.

III) LPs

1975--David Lance Goins jacket art and poster for "Cannonball" Adderley, *Big Man: The Legend of John Henry* (Fantasy F 79006). A two-disc set, also, issued on tape (Fantasy 8160 79006 2).

Brett Williams's *John Henry* stimulates further study. To illustrate: She reports (p. 101) that the Mary Anthony Dance Studio performed "John Henry" at New York's Riverside Church during June 1980, and that choreographer Daniel Maloney's score came from Adderley's unfinished

"Big Man," issued after his death. However, Williams does not cite such an "issue" in her book's discography. Neither did Norm Cohen in *Long Steel Rail* (1981); nor did I in my 1978 Graphics feature. I mention these three oversights to mark again the perils facing discographers/bibliographers.

Julian "Cannonball" Adderley died at the age of forty-six on 8 August 1975. His *Big Man* was released as the Bicentennial year opened. We remember Adderley, today, as a giant among modern jazz saxophonists. During the early 1970s he teamed up with lyricists Diane Lampert and Pete Farrow to produce a "folk musical" based on John Henry legends. Lampert, in turn, drew upon a previous (unpublished?) treatment by screenwriter George W. George and dramatist Paul A. Mayer. I would like to learn something of Adderley's personal role in the total project and his commitment in bringing the folk here to sophisticated jazz audiences.

I do not know when "Cannonball" Adderley first conceived a John Henry musical nor when he recorded *Big Man* in Fantasy's Berkeley studio. I assume that he intended this offering to be released on LP, perhaps after some additional sessions. However, I am puzzled that it was not produced initially on stage and, then, recorded live. Had it reached the theater, it might have benefited from the adjustment to pace and tone which evolves "on the boards."


Despite Adderley's eclectic use of jazz, blues, and gospel moods, his total play-in-music lacks the intense feeling generated by a traditional rendition from Mississippi John Hurt or Uncle Dave Macon. I touch, here, the complex matter of whether or not a folksong gains or loses vitality when it is "elevated" to concert status. In listening to *Big Man*, I have assumed that Afro-American blues and Appalachian balladry are shaped by their own intrinsic aesthetic codes.

Although a long history sanctions the use of folk music by symphonic and operatic composers, they have not always turned pebbles into diamonds. The most innovative trained musicians often stumble in their transformation of folksong. Adderley's album (now cut out of the Fantasy catalog) disappointed fans of popular "folk operas" such as *Porgy and Bess*. Also, this musical troubled cool jazz partisans. If, indeed, Cannonball did not reach John Henry's many audiences, we are left to wonder why the jazz composer was defeated by his hero's hammer.

The Lampert-Farrow plot, however, adds understanding to John Henry's web of meanings. The hero emerges as the Lord's right-hand man--a helper for ten thousand years. Seeking work with pay, John leaves Heaven. He meets Caroline, marries her in a traditional broomstick ceremony, and they conceive a child. Following itinerant work, he encounters railroad gandy dancers, a whore, and a chain-gang deputy.







C "Load me down,
you sugar lifters,"
said John Henry.
"Double work and
double wages, 'cause
my sweet Julie Anne
got to ride de boat."

Illustrations by
Rose O'Neill



"JOHN HENRY BLUES"

To Mr R. W. Gordon
BY
with my best wishes
W. C. HANDY

Writer of

W. C. Handy

"MEMPHIS BLUES"
"ST. LOUIS BLUES"
"HARLEM BLUES" Etc.

"JOHN HENRY BLUES" A true story from
Negro Life the melody of which has been sung
by laborers in the south since the Civil War.

PUBLISHED BY

W. C. Handy

2573-8th Avenue

New York City



PREFACE

To the Citizens of Florence, Alabama, my birth place, and the residents of Muscle Shoals district, I dedicate my humble effort herein.

To them I owe the inspiration for "JOHN HENRY BLUES," and to Mr. Phil H. Brown, I am indebted for the true story, as given with his signature below.— THE AUTHOR

The Tragedy of John Henry

It would be vain to attempt to estimate the singular service to Negro folklore that Mr. Handy has contributed in preserving the legend of John Henry. This character is the patron saint of the colored section hands and quarrymen everywhere. Whether mythical or real, his fame is secure, and it is seldom that a hand-drill is driven or a rivet struck in the Southland unless tuneful tribute is paid to his memory.

John Henry, so the legend runs, was the king of the riveters and drillers. "Black but comely," he possessed a physical contour that would bring joy to the heart of a sculptor. He could do more work than any four ordinary men, consume prodigious quantities of grog and was the center of a myriad of maidenly sighs from the hearts of dusky belles. He was Grand Mentor of the lodge, official umpire at the baseball games and the Supreme Court and last word in all community disputes. It was thus he reigned for many years with due dignity and decorum, seemingly unconscious of his power, yet with his royalty unquestioned and unallied.

Like other dynasties whose tenure is not zealously guarded, John Henry's throne of physical prowess tottered when one morning a usurper appeared in the form of a pneumatic punch and riveter. The new invention was installed with the guarantee to perform the work of ten men. John's heart became heavy beneath the dense clouds of gloomy foreboding. He felt his throne sinking beneath him and foresaw the passing of his fame.

Then, as falling monarchs usually do, he evinced the human side and resolved to make one last stand against the mechanical pretender for his dynasty. His powerful, elastic muscles, potent in all previous emergencies, would serve him in this crisis and he would yet show his subjects that he was supreme. He issued a ukase that he, John Henry, King of All Drillers and Riveters and Defender of the Faith in Physical Strength, would drive more rivets than any machine made by the hand of man. Over a brimming glass of sparkling beverage, long since extinct by the ruthless hand of Volstead, he placed a generous wager as an earnest of his confidence.

All the world loves a fighter and his votaries rallied to him and bets were freely made upon the result of this peculiar contest.

In the finale of this tragedy, tradition comes to the parting of the ways. One version, the one which Mr. Handy has epitomized and painted in "blue," has it that on the day of the vital test, John Henry's hammer fell in tripper blows to the song he sang; while the mechanical riveter hit a "tap-tap-tap" from the compressed air behind it, and it was truly "Taps," the funeral dirge of the dethroned John Henry: that our hero, feeling all was lost and his fame departing, gathered his energies for a last stand, strained his muscles for one supreme effort, with his hammer suspended, and then fell dead beneath it.

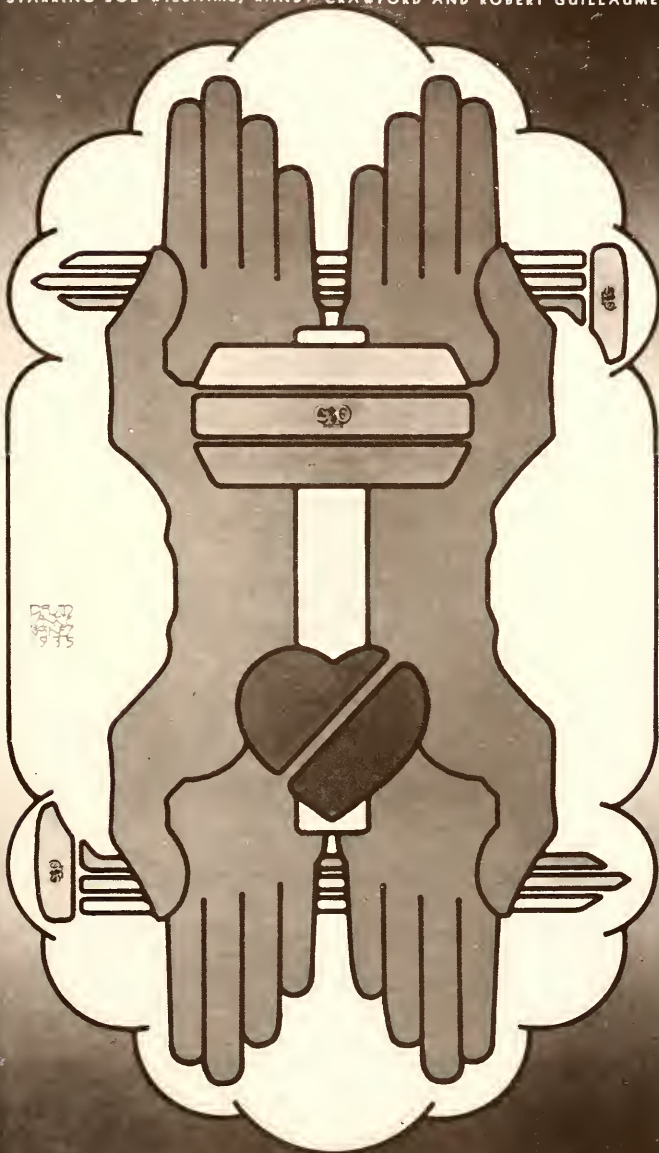
Another and more romantic version is still given in the legends and songs of the quarries and among the section hands is that John Henry met and acknowledged defeat at the hands of the new mechanism, and with bowed head "faded away"—passed out from the haunts of his erstwhile glory and was never seen nor heard again. Conformed to this belief you may hear even to this day down in the South, where steel clashes against steel in railroad construction and the drill seeks to pierce the heart of stone, the departed King's rhythmic requiem:

John Henry had a yallah gal;
De dress she wo' was blue.
Down de railroad track
Swo' he'd nevah come back--
John Henry, I'll be true!
John Henry, I'll be true!

Washington, D. C.

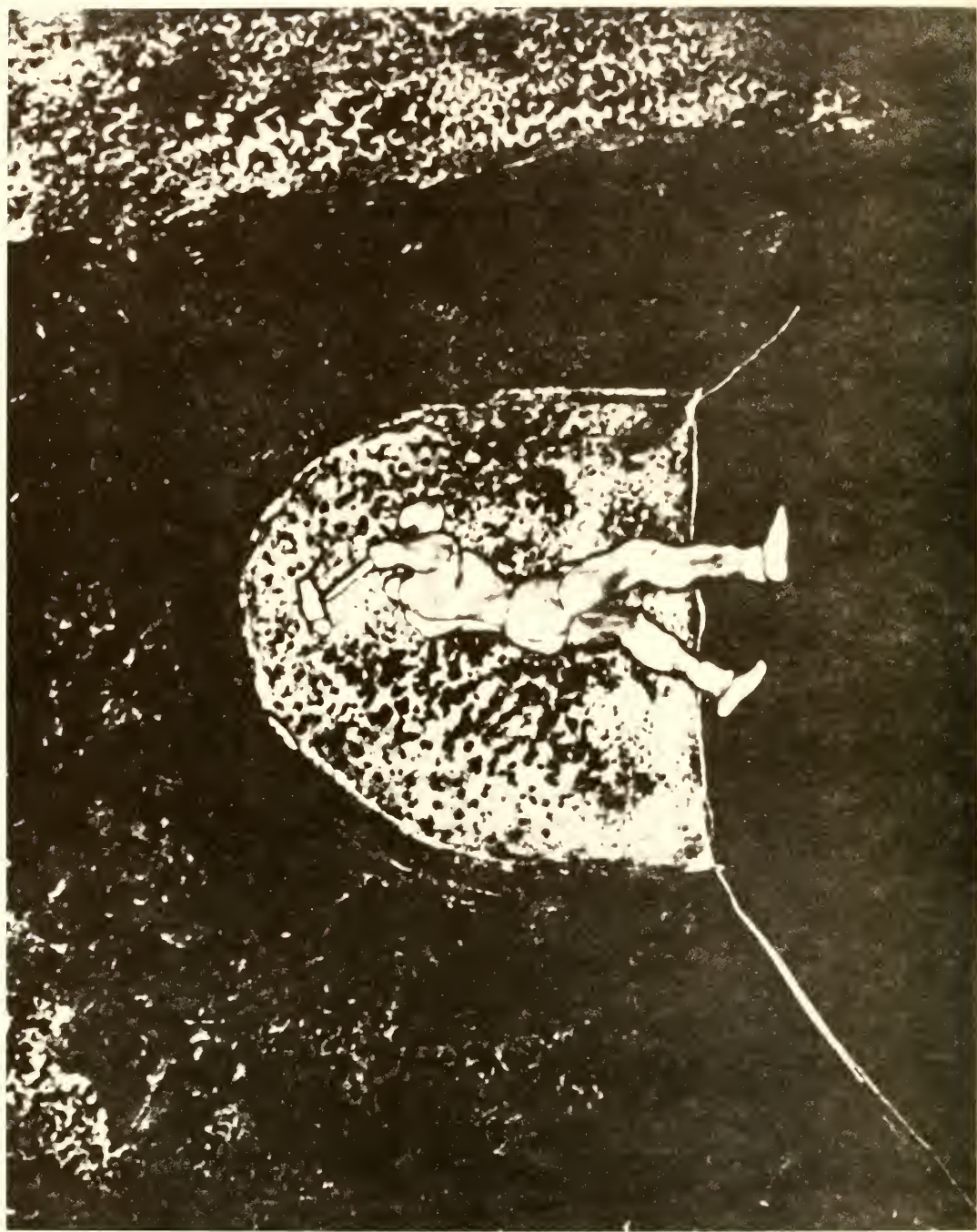
Phil H. Brown.

CANNONBALL ADDERLEY'S
BIG MAN
THE LEGEND OF JOHN HENRY
STARRING JOE WILLIAMS, RANDY CRAWFORD AND ROBERT GUILLAUME



FANTASY F-79006 • A TWO-RECORD SET • ALSO AVAILABLE ON TAPE



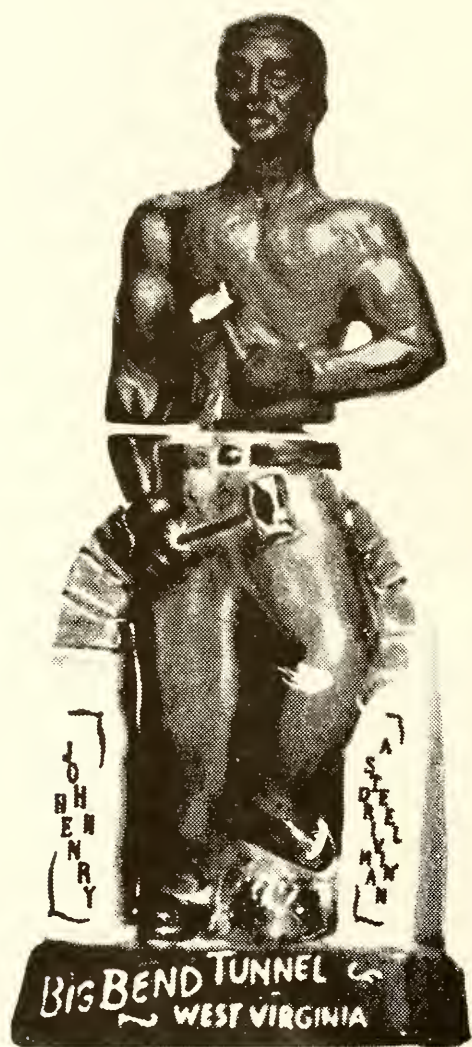








No. 11-91



JOHN HENRY
MEMORIAL FOUNDATION

presents

THE JOHN HENRY FOLK FESTIVAL



AUGUST 27, 28, 29, 1976
Camp Virgil Tate Charleston, W. Va.

JHMF • PO Box 155 • Princeton, WV 24740 • 304-487-1148 • Dir's: Ed Campbell, Sparty Rucker

After the C & O steam drill kills John, a worker-philosopher, Jassawa, tells Carrie that her man has returned to Heaven. He is remembered for having "paved the road to freedom with his bones." Clearly, lyricist Lampert and, perhaps, "Cannonball" Adderley, too, carried John Henry well beyond slavery times and the Industrial Revolution in the South. For the Bicentennial year John Henry became a Freedom Fighter, whose spirit echoed "We Shall Overcome."

To close this *Big Man* commentary, I report on David Lance Goins, the designer-printer for Fantasy's album jacket cover and poster (reproduced here). David was born in 1945 in Grants Pass, Oregon. His mother encouraged him to read and draw; his father, a civil engineer, provided considerable travel for the family. In 1963, David enrolled at the University of California, became involved in the Free Speech Movement, and dropped out of school. Turning to an informal apprenticeship in the Berkeley Free Press print shop he learned all aspects of the craft, immersing himself in printing technology and tradition. By 1971 he acquired the shop, renaming it Saint Heironymous Press.

In 1968 Goins issued his first poster, "The Kitchen," personally handling all elements: sketching, engraving, printing. Self-taught as an artist, he has developed a distinctive style of sinuous lines, pastel colors, and symbols reminiscent of modern Art Nouveau. Thackrey & Robertson, a San Francisco gallery, in 1973 began to exhibit signed originals of Goins's works, thus spreading his reputation throughout American art circles. He continues to work alone, producing distinctive posters for the Pacific Film Archive, the Chez Panisse Restaurant, and various small businesses, mainly in Berkeley. By year's end 1982, Goins had issued poster #100, "Hubbard Keyboard Instruments," for a firm in Waltham, Massachusetts. Although Goins confines himself to posters, he has also worked quietly for a decade on a prize-winning typographical book, *A Constructed Roman Alphabet* (Godine, Boston, 1982).

To provide texture for record listings, I fill in details on Goins's "Big Man"—#53 in his checklist of offset lithograph posters. These originals, which measure 14" x 24", are printed in eleven colors (eleven plates) in an edition of 213 copies; 126 are signed by the artist. These are intended largely for museums and private collectors. Fantasy used Goins's design in two manners: a "wrap-around" jacket for its double-LP set; a poster (13 1/2" x 26") announcing Adderley's album and tape. The two Fantasy items are printed by a four-color process, losing some of the depth of the originals. Some minor differences mark the three issues. However, the major difference between the Goins poster, the Fantasy poster, and the LP cover lies in the printed matter at the bottom of each. The LP cover holds three lines of credits; the commercial poster, a one-line announcement; the Goins original, no lines. Additionally, the

album spine holds a center line of print which neatly divides the art work.

In a pleasant visit at the Heironymous Press (16 June 1983), David and I talked about his only LP jacket/poster. Long familiar with John Henry ballads and blues, Goins had no trouble in selecting visual keys for the Fantasy assignment: hands, railroad spikes, steam clouds, C & O logos, hammer, broken heart. His flowing design, neither fully representational nor entirely abstract, stands out as the most recent serious artistic tribute to John Henry. Fortunately the artist did not feel it necessary to make an obvious connection between "Cannonball" Adderley's size and that of his musical's subject. Goins's poster derives power from time-tested John Henry icons, yet retains the legend's ambivalence in that these very icons, standing alone, do not always trumpet a message.

IV) Animated Film

1974--*The Legend of John Henry* in 16mm, Super 8, or video cassette, 11 minutes, color, narrated and sung by Roberta Flack. Also, adapted to 35mm film-strip, 113 frames in color, 21 minutes, two 12" 33-rpm phonodiscs. With teacher's guide.

Pyramid Films in Santa Monica has made available to the JEMF three photos, reproduced here, of John Henry at the tunnel portal, as a tie spiker, and as a giant. The firm also used this last figure in a large wall poster, printed in brown inks, to advertise the film. Unfortunately, I cannot credit the artists who created these drawings. Nor can I compare them to other animated depictions of John Henry in films before 1974. I can offer only a personal response: Pyramid's visuals suggest superhuman power without making the hero inhuman.

For my feature in 1978 I had listed eleven films or filmstrips on John Henry, but reproduced no graphics. Brett Williams has cited two additional items and has amplified data by seeking out information from distributors. Perhaps a reader who has seen one of these films will comment on it for the JEMF. We would welcome an interview with the director, artists, or musicians involved in the Pyramid production. We need, especially, a critical report by a teacher who uses educational film or by a children's film maker.

John Henry takes the place of honor in opening Norm Cohen's ballad studies for *Long Steel Rail*. There, the author remarked that in grammar school, he had seen a puppet movie in which a mechanically animated wooden black man contested a mechanically animated machine. Cohen added, "I cannot recall what instructive purpose prompted this showing, or what conclusions our teacher impressed on our young minds at that time." Does anyone know how many children first met John Henry in a darkened classroom? Can anyone suggest the "affecting presence" in such films?

V Sculpture

During 1978 I listed six representative photos of Charles Cooper's bronze of John Henry in the Memorial Park above the Big Bend Tunnel's east portal. I plan a future article on this statue. Here, I call special attention to a photographic composition "The Ghost of John Henry" by Curt Messer of Hinton, West Virginia, which can be seen in Williams's book (p. 107). He has superimposed a photo of the statue against a photo of the old and new tunnels. His imaginative composition hints at emerging lore in the 1980s: the statue can move about freely from its pedestal; the statue reveals haunt beliefs. Messer's treatment of the hero deserves further exploration.

VI Fine Art

In initial attention to John Henry depictions, I divided visual material into major categories: fine art, folk art, commercial art for books and magazines, pop art for souvenirs and related ephemera. Three fine artists (Palmer Hayden, Fred Becker, William Gropper) have used the legendary hammerman's theme. Having treated Hayden and Becker previously, I now have in progress a report on Gropper, for a future issue of the *JEMFO*.

VII Folk Art

1972--S. L. Jones's woodcarving of John Henry astride the tunnel.

It is with special pleasure that I reproduce Jones's carving, for it stands alone as a splendid piece of folk art. As well, it comments on circularity in tradition. Because John Henry journeyed from folk origin to a life in popular culture, scholars have expressed fear that he would be lost to the folk in modern times. These specialists assumed that books, films, and LP recordings would drive old songs and stories out of folk memory. Clearly this has happened to some degree, but not to the total exclusion of imagery held by blue-collar workers and rural dwellers in John Henry's "county."

I have never met Shields Landon Jones and, for facts below, am dependent entirely on an excellent article by Charles Rosenak, "A Person Has to Have Some Work to Do," in *Goldenseal* 8 (Spring 1982). Jones was born in 1901 in Franklin County, Virginia, a few years before his sharecropper father migrated to Summers County, West Virginia. Jones worked for the C & O from 1918 until retirement in 1967. As a youth, he had hunted, whittled, and played the banjo, and, as a railroader, he fiddled with a rural string band. After the death of his first wife in 1969, Jones remarried and settled at Pine Hill, but a few miles from the Big Bend Tunnel.

In retirement he fell back on wood carving, going beyond boyhood whittling. Rosenak reports that "heads and figures began to emerge from logs of yellow poplar, walnut, and maple, gathered from the woods behind Pine Hill."

(*Goldenseal* has pictured a number of Jones's carvings, as well as some of the carver himself in his shed studio.) First showing his folk art in county fairs in the early 1970s, Jones was soon "discovered" by the gallery/museum establishment. Fame has come to this modest countryman who has remarked sagely on his destiny: "A person has to have some work to do, so I carve some and play the fiddle."

The photo reproduced here of the John Henry folk carving comes to me from Bob Combs of the West Virginia State Department of Natural Resources. It was taken at the State Fair in August 1972 and reveals a modest price tag of \$50.00. I do not know who purchased it during or after the fair. I urge anyone who knows this particular piece's history to share such information.

The carving inspires speculation. John Henry is mounted on a polished wood block, which rests on top of the tunnel. Such positioning of the hero suggests both the actual setting for his exploits and Jones's probable knowledge, at the time of carving, that a statue was to be erected in Memorial Park. (The statue was unveiled 26 November 1972, well after the State Fair; hence I assume Jones had heard about it before he conceived his representation of hero above tunnel.) Jones's bas-relief trees flanking the entry may mark the forest over the portal as well as the trees at Pine Hill from which the folk artist secures raw material. I see the water barrel on the little rail car as the life-giving force which sustained the tunnel laborers. However, I am baffled by the bird-like gadget at the top of the broom handle. Who can explain it?

Perhaps some viewers, unsympathetic to folk art, see Jones's carving as crude or inartistic. Nevertheless, I find his John Henry superb, ultimately as provocative as the song's most memorable sound recordings. My appreciation and curiosity extend both to the carving's aesthetic appeal and to Jones's creative act. Living close to the Big Bend, he may have been familiar, in 1972, with the oldest local narratives about John Henry--those which lingered for nearly a century in oral tradition. In this case, his woodcarving gave physical shape to a folksong/legend. Viewing the object, we see it as flowing out of a set of songs and stories.

A continent removed from Summers County, I believe that illustrated books and pop souvenirs (circulating since Roark Bradford's novel of 1931) have also filtered back to Jones. In this case, his shaping of the hero may have derived from visible commercial and printed models. Regardless of such a wide possibility of sources, the carving emerged as a piece of folk art, comparable to the best work by other self-taught wood sculptors in the United States. Ideally, we need a folklorist's interview with Jones to report on his models, techniques, and values. Can we not see this C & O railroader/fiddler as representative of and continuous with the tunnel

drillers and musicians who created the earliest work chants or story songs about John Henry?

VIII) Miscellaneous

1972--Dave Nissen china decanter of John Henry issued by the James Beam Distilling Company, Chicago.

The encompassing bin, miscellaneous, served in 1978 to include posters, medallions, decals, T-shirts, slides, ceramics, and castings. Some souvenir material can only be described pejoratively as "schlock" or "kitsch." Whether or not we like such ephemera, it serves to extend the questions posed by the John Henry ballad, and it reveals operating cultural codes for Americans. I cannot judge each John Henry item designed to catch a tourist or collector's eyes but, here, I select a single decanter to comment upon hero's journey into the hobby land of "Beam Bottle Collecting."

During 1966 Al Cembura helped organize the first Jim Beam Bottle & Specialties Club in Berkeley, California. A year later he issued a published identification and price guide titled *Jim Beam Bottles*. This book's eleventh edition for 1983 shows 324 bottles in color--nearly half of the more than 650 original Beam bottles, glass or ceramic, between 1953 and 1983. Collectors' clubs now exist throughout the nation; in 1971 club members began a series of annual conventions. Readers can secure Al Cembura's publications directly: 139 Arlington Avenue, Berkeley, CA 94707.

The Beam application to the Copyright Office for "John Henry, a steel drivin' man, Big Bend Tunnel, West Virginia" is dated 24 January 1972 and numbered KY/DRB/230/G/85309. It identifies a ceramic decanter by Catherine Miller. However, Cembura's guide reveals that C. Miller represents a corporate copyright name. Beam's designer/sculptor, who works in clay, is actually Dave Nissen. The decanters are produced at the Regal China Corporation, Antioch, Illinois. (In 1967 Beam issued a bottle honoring Antioch, featuring an embossed head of the Indian Sequoia.) Since the Beam Company does not reveal the exact number of each ceramic decanter which leaves the kiln, I shall be glad to hear from anyone who knows how many John Henry bottles are now found in private collections. Our reproduction here comes from a photo in the 1978 edition of *Jim Beam Bottles*. The original decanter figure is 12 3/4" tall.

In this revisit to John Henry depictions, I opened with a salute to Brett Williams's new book, welcoming her as a scholar who had navigated the reefs of discography/bibliography. Does her vessel show a few voyage scars? Indeed, but it is safely home in port, and it beckons other explorers. I close with a salute to a fellow

voyager, Edward J. Cabell, founder of the John Henry Memorial Foundation at Princeton, West Virginia.

Cabell, born on 26 June 1946 at Eurica Hollow, McDowell County, grew up in a mountain community where black youngsters looked forward mainly to railroading and coal mining. His enthusiasms led him beyond these industries to a public area still difficult to name--the presentation of folk traditions and the blending of folk-cultural studies with political activism. Principally the Foundation uses John Henry legends to extend understanding of the role of blacks in the Appalachian region. Towards this end Cabell organized an annual John Henry Memorial Festival in 1973 and now plans a permanent folklife museum.

Sensitive to the mix in black-white experience at his festivals, Cabell has sought balanced presentations. As well, he has been conscious of the often troublesome interaction between West Virginia mountain folk and their visitors, and between folksingers and singers of folksong. His events are modestly funded and staged; they help counter some of the flattening effects in professional-circuit "folk" festivals; they establish models for those who see strength in nurturing traditional expression.

I have long urged collectors and archivists to gather folk-festival posters, the best of which speak dramatically to the complexity within present-day American culture. Below, I append a checklist of the posters issued for the eleven John Henry festivals to date, and reproduce that of 1976--a silk screen production, 20" x 26" in size. This listing includes date and place of festival; artist's name or photographer's name; brief description of subject; colors and paper stock.

My opening questions on the largest values in discography/bibliography called attention to Brett Williams's *John Henry*. In turn, her book's theses framed by own revisit to a grab-bag of visuals. The closing list (below) of posters from the John Henry Memorial Festival suggests that Ed Cabell, for a decade, has helped Appalachians, black and white, celebrate their own particularity. In Professor Williams's terms, these participants have entangled the heroic hammerman's destiny with their own.

John Henry depictions--whether in fine, pop, or folk art--generally show the legendary driller or tie spiker at work. Festival posters frequently feature performers of ballads and blues. Whether or not we see a hammer or spike, a banjo or guitar, such art helps John Henry resonate in memory. Those of us, far from the Big Bend Tunnel, are well served if we let these affective visuals trigger questions about class and race, identity and community.

--San Francisco, California

Posters Issued for the Eleven
John Henry Festivals

- 1) 1973, 31 Aug.-2 Sept.
Berkeley Harold "Butch" Bennett, designer. An erect figure hammering a peg-like drill into the ground; behind him a circle (logo) reads JOHN HENRY MEMORIAL FOUNDATION. Red and black on white paper.
- 2) 1974, 30 Aug.-1 Sept.
Clifftop Designer unknown. Front of train emerging from a tunnel. Black on white paper.
- 3) 1975, 22-24 Aug.
Charleston John Wilson, designer. Red and black mountains above a green field on brown paper.
- 4) 1976, 27-29 Aug.
Charleston Bob Gates, photographer, Wolf Creek Printing, designer. Banjoist Clarence Tross, age 97, from Hardy County. Red, black, and green on grey paper.
- 5) 1977, 26-28 Aug.
Charleston Photo by Marilyn Vance, at educational station WSWP-TV. John "Uncle Homer" Walker holds banjo on lap. Black, brown, red, and green on white paper.
- 6) 1978, 3-4 Sept.
Pence Springs Harold "Butch" Bennett, designer. John Henry stands erect, hammer in hand. Yellow and black on white paper.
- 7) 1979, 1-2 Sept.
Pence Springs John McKay, photographer at WSWP-TV. Sparky Rucker facing microphone, back to viewers. Black on brown paper.
- 8) 1980, 26-27 Sept.
Athens Reuben Fernandez, photographer. John "Uncle Homer" Walker, playing banjo. Black on buff paper.
- 9) 1981, 18-19 Sept.
Athens Carl Fleischhauer, photographer. E. E. Johnson with guitar, Ed Cabell sitting, Sparky Rucker kneeling. Black on green paper.
- 10) 1982, 18 Sept.
Cash's Hill Jim Balow, photographer. Titus Harris and his dog resting in front of tractor. Black on buff paper.
- 11) 1983, 23-24 Sept.
Pipestem Poster not yet printed.

THE MUSIC MAGAZINE READER'S "HOT 100": POPULAR MUSIC PERIODICALS, 1950-1982

By B. Lee Cooper, Frank W. Hoffmann, and William L. Schurk

[B. Lee Cooper is a professor of history and Vice President for Academic Affairs at Newberry College in South Carolina. He earned his doctorate in American History at the Ohio State University. Dr. Cooper has authored two books--*Images of American Society in Popular Music* (Nelson-Hall, 1982) and *The Popular Music Handbook* (Libraries Unlimited, 1983)--and several articles for JEMFQ, Goldmine, Journal of Popular Culture, and other scholarly and popular journals. He also contributed two essays to *Twentieth-Century Popular Culture in Museums and Libraries* (Popular Press, 1981). Dr. Cooper's intellectual interest is in examining social commentaries and persistent historical themes in contemporary lyrics, but his passion is for rockabilly music and vintage rock 'n' roll.]

[Frank W. Hoffman is an historian and an Assistant Professor in the School of Library Science at Sam Houston State University in Huntsville, Texas. He earned his Ph.D. at the University of Pittsburgh. Dr. Hoffmann has written an extensive bibliographic study entitled *The Literature of Rock, 1954-1978* (Scarecrow, 1981) and has contributed articles to a variety of journals including *Record Exchanger*, *Popular Music and Society*, and *Southeastern Librarian*. He is currently working on a supplement (1979-1983) to his first book and is also completing two lengthy chart resource studies: *The Cash Box Singles Charts, 1950-1981* (Scarecrow, 1983) and *The Cash Box Country Charts, 1958-1982* (Scarecrow, in press).]

[William L. Schurk is the Sound Recordings Archivist at the William T. Jerome Library at Bowling Green State University in Ohio. He holds an MSLS degree from Case-Western Reserve University. Schurk has published essays on audio resource acquisition, cataloging, and circulation in the *Drexel Library Quarterly*, the *ARSC* (Association for Recorded Sound Collections) Journal, and in several scholarly anthologies. He has also been a featured speaker at annual conventions of the American Library Association, the Midwest Popular Culture Association, the Music Library Association, and the Popular Culture Association. He is a specialist in rhythm 'n' blues of the forties and fifties, rockabilly music, and record packaging.]

The study of popular music periodicals has received only limited attention. A chief reason for this was identified by bibliographer Bill Katz: "Magazines in this group tend to have an ephemeral nature--few actually succeed and endure for long periods of time."¹ Beyond this longevity deficiency, it can be noted that the quality of printing, commentary, photography, organization, and editorial control varies dramatically from one popular music periodical to another. "Irregular" might be a fitting term to describe this entire genre. Yet to say that there are extremes among these publications is to acknowledge something positive. While there are some very, very poor popular music periodicals, there are also some very fine ones. This brief study will highlight the authors's choices of the one hundred best.

Although there are no systematic surveys currently available on popular music periodicals, several writers have provided limited examinations of this subject. The most obvious sources for general listings of music-related serial publications are *The Music Index* (monthly, 1949-

present), *Magazines for Libraries* (Third Edition, 1978), and *Ulrich's International Periodicals Directory* (annual, 21st Edition, 1982). These indexes are severely limited in scope, though. The most ambitious bibliographic undertaking in this area was launched by Dean Tudor nearly a decade ago. The four volumes of his *Popular Music Periodicals Index* (1973-1976) represent a monumental effort to provide a unified research resource on the contemporary music magazine market.² Regrettably, after 1976 Tudor shifted his compiling attention from periodicals to recordings.³ Recently, other scholars have begun to explore the popular music periodical area. Central Michigan University librarian David D. Ginsburg has written several articles for both library journals and record collecting monthlies about the nature, scope, and quality of contemporary music periodicals.⁴ His observations on the role of rock music fans as the "true scholars" of modern music are both perceptive and controversial. Within the Popular Culture Association and other national archival organizations, William L. Schurk has offered advice to fellow librarians about selecting and

purchasing popular music periodicals.⁵ As the Sound Recordings Archivist at Bowling Green State University, Schurk has amassed the largest catalogued collection of these literary resources in the United States. Most recently, Frank W. Hoffmann presented a superb "Annotated List of Popular Music Periodicals" in his bibliographic study *The Literature of Rock, 1954-1978*.⁶ The works of Dean Tudor, David D. Ginsburg, William L. Schurk, and Frank W. Hoffmann suggest that research and analysis of American music will depend more and more on information available in periodical literature.

Why are popular music periodicals so divergent in nature? Why are they so numerous? Why are they so shortlived? So specialized? So hard to locate? The answers to all of these questions must be related to the dynamic nature of American popular music. The periodicals themselves inevitably reflect the topics they cover. More than that, popular music periodical editors tend to view the world of contemporary music from vastly different perspectives. Let us illustrate this point by using a circus metaphor. The ringmaster (editor) wishes to direct the audience's (reader's) attention to several specific events under the Big Top (music world). Look at the beautiful girls and the handsome men (music celebrity approach); be amazed by the skill of the balancing acts (technical qualities of musicianship); thrill to the drama of the knife-throwing acts (on-stage antics of concert performers); win a prize at dart-throwing (write your own hit tunes--and become famous); run away with the circus (join the band as a singer, guitarist, or drummer--and become famous). Beyond this brief list of metaphorical options, popular music periodicals may feature biographies of performers, lyrics from popular tunes, descriptions of new audio equipment and musical instruments, record reviews, assessments of music books, photographic studies of artists and their entourage, concert schedules, record auction information, and dozens of other topics.

This brief study is designed to suggest a prioritized reading and purchasing list for teachers, librarians, researchers, and popular music fans.⁷ The periodicals listed below have been grouped in four categories--corresponding roughly to *Billboard's* weekly "Hot 100" record chart listings. The authors have assigned "Top 10" status to the most valuable, authoritative periodicals. This group is presented alphabetically to avoid the problem of identifying the most significant journal. These initial ten magazines plus the following thirty periodicals make up the "Top 40." In our judgment, these items provide the essential literary resources across the entire spectrum (musical genres, social commentary, music trade news and data, audio technology, musicianship, and nostalgia) of rock journalism. We have listed another sixty periodicals which are rising, falling, changing, or suspended within the 33-year publication period of our investigative focus. Finally, on a some-

what speculative basis, each writer included several personal favorite popular music journals in the "Bubbling Under the Hot 100" category.

The selection criteria for the one hundred plus periodicals listed below included seven general attributes. The application of these guidelines occurred subjectively in the minds of the three authors, with inevitable trade-offs, compromises, substitutions, additions, deletions, and other ranking shifts leading to the compilation of the final "Hot 100" listing. The specific selection criteria were:

A. *Objectivity of Writers's Viewpoints*

(Are all sides of opinion on a particular album, about a performing artist, or on a musical style considered and presented? Do editorial and other journalistic conclusions seem fair and appropriate in light of the available evidence?)

B. *Level of Analysis and Commentary*

(Is the wording in articles reasonable? Does the commentary seem overly intellectual and pedantic? Do the writers seem simplistic, apologetic, non-critical, and unable to venture comparative judgments about their subjects? Is the material presented informative and authoritative?)

C. *Knowledge of Subject*

(Do the writers appear to be qualified to provide opinions and information on a variety of popular music subjects? Are the reports factually accurate and based upon direct contact with significant artists or other popular music sources?)

D. *Clarity of Writing*

(Is the material presented in a clear and comprehensive fashion? Can opinions and facts be readily discerned?)

E. *Availability of Periodical*

(Can the journal be purchased at newsstands? Is it available in libraries? Are subscriptions available, and are issues delivered consistently?)

F. *Quality of Record, Concert, and Book Reviews*

(Is there sufficient discrimination between "good" and "bad" quality in performances and literary works? Do writers provide an evenness in

the scope of their coverage? Are particular musicians or musical styles invariably praised or panned? Does the journal provide a sufficient number of reviews per issue to offer a general perspective on popular music?)

G. Special Features

(Are the photographs appropriate and of sufficient aesthetic quality? Does the periodical include song lyrics or discographies with articles? Are there other distinctive characteristics which especially recommend the journal?)

--Cooper, Newberry College
Newberry, South Carolina

--Hoffmann, Sam Houston State University
Huntsville, Texas

--Schurk, Bowling Green State University
Bowling Green, Ohio

NOTES

1. Bill Katz and Berry G. Richards (comps.), *Magazines for Libraries: For the General Reader and School, Junior College, University, and Public Libraries*, third edition (New York: R.R. Bowker Company, 1978), p. 668.
2. Dean Tudor and Nancy Tudor (comps.), *Popular Music Periodicals Index--1973* (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1974); Dean Tudor and Andrew D. Armitage (comps.), *Popular Music Periodicals Index--1974* (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1975); Dean Tudor and Andrew D. Armitage (comps.), *Popular Music Periodicals Index--1975* (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1976); and Dean Tudor and Linda Biesenthal (comps.), *Popular Music Periodicals Index--1976* (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1977).
3. Two examples of Tudor's discographical research are: Dean Tudor and Nancy Tudor (comps.), *Black Music* (Littleton, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, Inc., 1979), and Dean Tudor and Nancy Tudor (comps.), *Contemporary Popular Music* (Littleton, Colorado: Libraries Unlimited, Inc., 1979).
4. David D. Ginsburg, "Rock is a Way of Life: The World of Rock 'N' Roll Fanzines and Fandom," *Serials Review* (January/March 1979), pp. 29-46; David D. Ginsburg, "Fandomania!" *Goldmine*, No. 75 (August 1982), pp. 166-167; No. 77 (October 1982), pp. 178-179; and No. 79 (December 1982), pp. 191-193. See also Gary Sperrazza, "Fanzines," *Time Barrier Express*, III (1979), pp. 78-77; Robert Pruter, "Big Ten Inch Magazine: Goldmine's Review of R & B Magazines," *Goldmine*, No. 64 (September 1981), pp. 18-181, and No. 75 (August 1982), p. 173.
5. William L. Schurk (comp.), "Popular Music Periodicals" (Mimeographed list prepared for presentation at the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Popular Culture Association in Cincinnati, Ohio, on 24-29 March 1981), 11 pp.
6. Frank W. Hoffmann, *The Literature of Rock, 1954-1978* (Metuchen, New Jersey: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1981), pp. 295-304.
7. Obviously, purchasing "defunct" or "suspended" journals will involve auction bidding rather than normal subscription activities. This may be the only way to acquire back issues of some periodicals.

THE ROCK READER'S "HOT 100": PREMIER POPULAR
MUSIC PERIODICALS, 1950-1982

-- THE "TOP TEN" --			
<u>Title of Periodical</u> <u>(Duration of Publication)</u>	<u>Current or</u> <u>Recent Editor</u>	<u>Outline of</u> <u>Periodical Content</u>	<u>Current or Recent Publisher</u> <u>(Place of Publication)</u>
1. <u>Billboard</u> <u>(1894-Present)</u>	Lee Zhito	Music Business News Top Hits Charts (Albums, Singles) Record Reviews Advertisements	Billboard Publications, Inc. (New York, New York)
2. <u>Bomp (formerly Who Put the</u> <u>bomp)</u> <u>(1966-1979)</u>	Greg Shaw	Articles and Commentaries on Rock 'N' Roll, New Wave, and Power Pop Record Reviews	Bomp Enterprises, Ltd. (Burbank, California)
3. <u>Circus</u> <u>(1966-Present)</u>	Gerald Rothberg	Articles on Rock Records and Concert Reviews Photographs	Circus Enterprises Corporation (New York, New York)
4. <u>Crawdaddy</u> <u>(1966-1979)</u>	Peter Knobler	Rock Music Articles Record Reviews Political Cartoons Photographs	Feature Publishing Company (New York, New York)
5. <u>Goldmine: The Record</u> <u>Collector's Marketplace</u> <u>(1974-Present)</u>	Jeff Tamarkin	Record Auction Lists Discographies Articles and Commentaries Record and Concert Reviews	Krause Publications (Iola, Wisconsin)
6. <u>New Musical Express</u> <u>(1952-Present)</u>	Nick Logan	Culture Commentaries and Popular Music News Record Reviews Photographs	I.P.C. Magazines, Ltd. (London, England)
7. <u>Popular Music and Society</u> <u>(1972-Present)</u>	R. Serge Denisoff	Sociological Studies on Popular Music Record Reviews Book Reviews	Bowling Green University Popular Press (Bowling Green, Ohio)

<u>Title of Periodical</u> (Duration of Publication)	<u>Current or</u> <u>Recent Editor</u>	<u>Outline of</u> <u>Periodical Content</u>	<u>Current or Recent Publisher</u> (Place of Publication)
8. <u>Rolling Stone</u> (1967-Present)	Jann Wenner	Contemporary Culture Commentaries Articles on Popular Music Interviews Record and Book Reviews	Straight Arrow Publishers, Inc. (San Francisco, California)
9. <u>Time Barrier Express</u> (1974-1980)	Ralph M. Newman	Biographical Studies on Rock 'N' Roll Performers Discographies Interviews Photographs	Time Barrier Enterprises, Inc. (Yonkers, New York)
10. <u>Trouser Press</u> (1974-Present) (formerly <u>Transoceanic</u> <u>Trouser Press</u>)	Scott Isler	Articles on British Rock Scene Discographies Record Reviews Photographs	Transoceanic Trouser Press (New York, New York)
11. <u>Bim Bam Boom: World's</u> <u>Leading Oldies Magazine</u> (1971-1974)	Steve Flam and Ralph Newman	Articles on 1950s & 1960s R&B Discographies	Bim Bam Boom Enterprises (Bronx, New York)
12. <u>Blues Unlimited</u> (1963-Present)	Simon A. Napier and Mike Leadbitter	Articles on Blues Performers Photographs Discographies Record Reviews	Blues Limited (Bexhill-on-Sea, Sussex, England)
13. <u>Cadence: The American</u> <u>Review of Jazz and Blues</u> (1976-Present)	Bob Rusch	Interviews with Jazz and Blues Artists Record Reviews Photographs Book Reviews	Cadence Press (Redwood, New York)

-- THE REMAINING "TOP FORTY" --

<u>Title of Periodical (Duration of Publication)</u>	<u>Current or Recent Editor</u>	<u>Outline of Periodical Content</u>	<u>Current or Recent Publisher (Place of Publication)</u>
14. <u>Cash Box: The International Music Record Weekly</u> (1942-Present)	Gary Cohen	Recording Industry News and Views Photographs Record Previews Singles and Albums Chart Lists	Cash Box Publishing Company, Inc. (New York, New York)
15. <u>Contemporary Keyboard</u> (1975-Present)	Tom Darter	Reviews of New Keyboard Instruments Record and Book Reviews Articles on Keyboard Players	G.P.I. Corporation (Saratoga, California)
16. <u>Creem Magazine</u> (1969-Present)	Barry D. Kramer	Articles and Commentaries on Rock Music Record Reviews Photographs	Creem Magazine, Inc. (Birmingham, Michigan)
17. <u>Down Beat</u> (1934-Present)	Jack Maher	Articles on Jazz, Blues, and Jazz-Rock Record Reviews	Maier Publications, Inc. (Chicago, Illinois)
18. <u>Guitar Player: The Magazine for Professional and Amateur Guitarists</u> (1967-Present)	Tom Wheeler	Articles on Instructional Techniques and Equipment Evaluations Book and Record Reviews Biographies of Guitar Players	G.P.I. Corporation (San Diego, California)
19. <u>Hit Parader</u> (1954-Present)	Lisa Robinson	Song Lyrics Interviews and Articles on Rock Stars Photographs	Charlton Publications, Inc. (Derby, Connecticut)
20. <u>It Will Stand</u> (1978-Present)	Chris Beachley	Articles on Beach Music and Other Forms of 1950's and 1960's R&B Photographs	It Will Stand Press (Charlotte, North Carolina)

<u>Title of Periodical</u> (Duration of Publication)	<u>Current or</u> <u>Recent Editor</u>	<u>Outline of</u> <u>Periodical Content</u>	<u>Current or Recent Publisher</u> (Place of Publication)
21. <u>Jazz and Pop</u> (1962-1969?)	Janice Coughlan	Articles on Jazz, Folk, and Rock Music Photographs Record Reviews	Jazz Press, Inc. (New York, New York)
22. <u>Journal of Country Music</u> (1970-Present)	Douglas B. Green	Scholarly and Journalistic Articles on Country, Old Time, Bluegrass, Western Swing, Fiddle, Sacred, and Folk Music Book Reviews	Country Music Foundation Press (Nashville, Tennessee)
23. <u>Journal of Jazz Studies</u> (1973-1981)	Charles Nanry and David A. Cayer	Scholarly Articles and Research Studies Discographies	Institute of Jazz Studies at Rutgers University (New Brunswick, New Jersey)
24. <u>Melody Maker</u> (1926-Present)	Ray Coleman	Recording Industry News and Advertisements Record Previews Feature Articles on Popular Music Trends Concert Itineraries	I.P.C. Specialist and Professional Press, Ltd. (Sussex, England)
25. <u>Modern Drummer: The</u> <u>International Magazine</u> <u>Exclusively for Drummers</u> (1972-Present)	Ronald Spagnardi	Articles on Percussion Trends and Artists Photographs Drum Study Materials and Rhythm Patterns	Modern Drummer Publications, Inc. (Clifton, New Jersey)
26. <u>Musician, Player, and</u> <u>Listener</u> (1976-Present)	Sam Holdsworth	Articles on Popular Music Trends and Performers Interviews Photographs Equipment Ratings	Amorian Press, Inc. (Gloucester, Massachusetts)

<u>Title of Periodical</u> (Duration of Publication)	<u>Current or</u> <u>Recent Editor</u>	<u>Outline of</u> <u>Periodical Content</u>	<u>Current or Recent Publisher</u> (Place of Publication)
27. <u>New Kommotion</u> (1977-Present)	Adam Komorowski	Rockabilly and Rock 'N' Roll Articles Photographs Discographies Record Reviews	Enkay Productions (Wembley, Middlesex, England)
28. <u>Phonograph Record Magazine</u> (1969-1978)	Martin Robert Cerf	Articles on Soul, Jazz, and Popular Music Record Reviews	United Artists Records, Inc. (Hollywood, California)
29. <u>Popular Music</u> (1981-Present)	Richard Middleton and David Horn	Scholarly Articles on Popular Music Book Reviews	Cambridge University Press (Cambridge, England)
30. <u>The Record</u> (1981-Present)	David McGee	Tour Articles and Reports Photographs Top "100" Albums Record Reviews Rock Journalism and Editorial Comments	Straight Arrow Publishers, Inc. (San Francisco, California)
31. <u>Record Collector</u> (1979-Present)	Johnny Dean	Articles and Discographies on Popular Music Photographs	Record Collector Press (London, England)
32. <u>Record Exchanger</u> (1969-Present)	Jim Muskevitz	Biographies of Rock 'N' Roll and R&B Performers Book Reviews Discographies Record Reviews	Vintage Records (Anaheim, California)
33. <u>Record Review</u> (1977-Present)	Brian J. Ashley	Profiles of Contemporary Rock Performers Record Reviews Interviews Photographs	Ashley Communications, Inc. (Los Angeles, California)

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34. <u>Record World</u> (1942-1982)	Sid Parnes	Articles on Popular Music Performers Recording Corporation Reports and News	Record World Publications, Inc. (New York, New York)
35. Rock (1970-1975)	Larry Marshak	Articles on Rock Performers Book and Record Reviews Interviews	Rock Complex, Inc. (New York, New York)
36. <u>Song Hits Magazine</u> (1942-Present)	William T. Anderson	Song Lyrics Photographs	Charlton Publications, Inc. (Derby, Connecticut)
37. <u>Stereo Review</u> (1958-Present)	William Anderson	Articles on Audio Technology Record Reviews	Ziff-Davis Publishing Company (New York, New York)
38. <u>Yesterday's Memories</u> (1975-1976)	Marsha Vance, Harv Goldberg, and Mike Redmond	Articles on R&B Music	Freebizzak Publishers (New York, New York)
39. <u>Zig Zag</u> (1971-Present)	Mike Mercer	Articles on the British Contemporary Music Scene	Spicebox Books (London, England)
40. <u>Zoo World</u> (1972-1975)		Articles on Rock Music Trends and Performers Record Reviews	(Fort Lauderdale, Florida)
-- THE REMAINING "HOT 100" --			
41. <u>ARSC Journal</u> (1968-Present)	Michael H. Gray	Scholarly Articles Book and Record Reviews Discographies	Association for Recorded Sound Collections (Manassas, Virginia)

<u>Title of Periodical</u> (Duration of Publication)	<u>Current or Recent Editor</u>	<u>Outline of Periodical Content</u>	<u>Current or Recent Publisher</u> (Place of Publication)
42. Bam Balam (19 -Present)	Brian Hogg	Articles on 1960's Music Photographs and Album Cover Reproductions	Big Sky/You Tore Me Down Productions (East Letham, Scotland)
43. Black Music and Jazz Review (1973-Present) (formerly Black Music)	Ray Coleman	Articles on Blues, R&B, Soul, Gospel, Reggae, and Jazz Performers Photographs	I.P.C. Specialist and Professional Press (London, England)
44. The Black Perspective in Music (1973-Present)	Eileen Southern	Scholarly Articles Book and Record Reviews	Foundation for Research in the Afro-American Creative Arts (Cambria Heights, New York)
45. Blitzl (1975-Present) (formerly Ballroom Blitz)	Mike McDowell	Articles on New Wave Performers and Rock 'n' Roll Artists	M. McDowell (Los Angeles, California)
46. Bluegrass Unlimited (1966-Present)	Peter V. Kuykendall	Articles on Bluegrass and Country Music Personal Appearance Calendars	Bluegrass Unlimited, Inc. (Broad Run, Virginia)
47. Blues and Soul Review (1966-Present)	John E. Abbey	Articles on Blues and Soul Performers	Contemps International, Ltd. (London, England)
48. Blues World (1965-1973?)	Bob Groom	Articles on Blues Performers Interviews Record Reviews	Amon-re Fine Arts, Ltd. (Bristol, England)
49. B.M.I. The Many Worlds of Music (1962-Present)	Burt Korall	Articles on Popular Music Performers and Composers Photographs Song Lists	Broadcast Music, Inc. (New York, New York)
50. Broadside: The Topical Song Magazine (1962-Present)	Agnes Cunningham	Interviews Song Lyrics	Broadside Press (New York, New York)

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51. <u>Coda: The Jazz Magazine</u> (1958-Present)	John Norris and Bill Smith	Articles on Jazz and Blues Performers Record and Concert Reviews Photographs	Coda Publications (Toronto, Ontario, Canada)
52. <u>Country Hits</u> (19 -Present)		Stories on Country Stars Song Lyrics Photographs	Charlton Publications, Inc. (Derby, Connecticut)
53. <u>Country Music</u> (1972-1982)	Peter McCabe	Articles on Country Music Trends and Performers News Items Record Reviews	KPO Publications (New York, New York)
54. <u>Country Music Review</u> (1971-Present)	Bryan Chalker	Articles on Artists and Trends in Country Music Record Reviews	Concorde Distributors (London, England)
55. <u>Country Music World</u> (1973-1974)		Profiles of Country Music Performers Record Reviews	Dobson Publishing Company (Arlington, Virginia)
56. <u>Country Song Roundup</u> (1947-Present)	William T. Anderson	Song Lyrics Country Music Personality Biographies	Charlton Publications, Inc. (Derby, Connecticut)
57. <u>Country Style</u> (1976-Present)	Vince Sorren	Articles on Country and Country Rock Music Photographs Record Reviews	Country Style Publications Company (Franklin Park, Illinois)
58. <u>Ethnomusicology</u> (1953-Present)	Gerard Béhague	Articles on the Impact on Music and Dance on International Culture Book and Record Reviews Bibliographies	The Society for Ethnomusicology (Ann Arbor, Michigan)
59. <u>Fireball Mail</u> (1962-Present)	Nim de Boer	Articles, Photographs, Tour Schedules, and Memorabilia on Jerry Lee Lewis	W. de Boer (Best, Holland)

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60. <u>Flipside</u> (1974-Present)	Al Flipside	Articles of Punk/New Wave Music Local Show Reviews Interviews Song Lyrics Record Reviews	A. Flipside (Whittier, California)
61. <u>Folk Review</u> (1971-Present)	Fred Wood	Profiles of Folk Singers Articles on Folk Music Record Reviews	Austin House (Cheshire, England)
62. <u>Folk Music Journal</u> (1940-Present)		Articles on Folk Music Book and Record Reviews Folk Song Lyrics	English Folk Dance and Song Society (London, England)
63. <u>Folksong in the Classroom</u> (1981-Present)	John A. Scott and Laurence I. Seidman	Folk Tales Teaching Suggestions Folk Song Lyrics	L. I. Seidman (Great Neck, New York)
64. <u>Gorilla Beat</u> (19 -Present)	Hans Jurgen Klitsch	Articles on 1960's Rock Artists and New Wave Performers Discographies	(West Germany)
65. <u>Grooves</u> (1978-Present)	John Shelton Ivany	Articles on Rock Music Book and Record Reviews Photographs Previews of Audio Equipment	Grooves Publications, Inc. (New York, New York)
66. <u>High Fidelity</u> (1951-Present)	Leonard Marcus	Articles on Technical Equipment and Contemporary Performers Record Reviews	AEC Leisure Magazines, Inc. (Great Barrington, Massachusetts)
67. <u>Hot Wacks Quarterly</u> (1979-Present)	Kurt Glemser	Reviews and Previews of Bootleg Discs and Under- ground Recordings	Blue Flake Productions, Inc. (Kitchener, Ontario, Canada)

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68. <u>International Musician</u> <u>and Recording World</u> (1979-Present)	J. C. Costa	Articles on Popular Music Groups, Audio Equipment, and Playing Techniques	International Musician and Recording World USA, Ltd. (New York, New York)
69. <u>Jazz Journal International</u> (1948-Present)	Sinclair Traill	Articles on Jazz and Blues Artists Record Reviews	Billboard, Ltd. (London, England)
70. <u>JENF Quarterly</u> (1965-Present)	Linda L. Painter	Scholarly Articles on Folk, Country, and Commercial Music Book and Record Reviews Discographies and Bibliographies	John Edwards Memorial Foundation, Inc. (Los Angeles, California)
71. <u>Larry's Oldies But Goodies</u> <u>Newsletter</u> (19 -Present)	Larry Stidom	Short Articles on Recording Trends and Song Trivia	L. Stidom (Morehead, Kentucky)
72. <u>Living Blues: A Journal</u> <u>of the Black American</u> <u>Blues Tradition</u> (1970-Present)	Jim O'Neal and Amy O'Neal	Articles on Contemporary Blues Performers Photographs Record Reviews	Living Blues Publications (Chicago, Illinois)
73. <u>Matrix: Jazz Record</u> <u>Research Magazine</u> (1954-1975)	George Hulme	Jazz Discographies	(Stoke-on-Trent, Staffordshire, England)
74. <u>Modern Keyboard Review</u> (1969-Present)	Ernest Tamminga	Articles on Piano and Organ Techniques and Performers	William Irwin (Palos Verdes Estates, California)

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75. <u>Modern Recording and Music</u> (1975-Present)	Rector LaTorre	Articles on Popular Music and Electronic Equipment	Cowan Publishing Company (Washington, New York)
76. <u>Music and Sound Output</u> (1980-Present)	Bill Stephen	Technology Advertisements and Equipment Ratings Articles on Popular Music Record Previews	Output International Publications, Inc. (Carle Place, New York)
77. <u>Music Week: Record and</u> <u>Tape Retailer</u> (19 --Present)		Record Previews	(London, England)
78. <u>Music World</u> (1979-1981)	Jon McAuliffe	Articles on Popular Music Performers Sheet Music Photos Album Reviews	Bay Publishing Company, Inc. (Revere, Massachusetts)
79. <u>New Gandy Dancer</u> (1976-Present)	Davy Peckett	Articles on Instrumental Rock Music Record Reviews	(Newcastle Upon Tyne, England)
80. <u>New Heavy Metal Revue</u> (1981-Present)	Brian Slagel	Articles on Heavy Metal Performers Photographs Record Reviews	New Heavy Metal Revue (Woodland Hills, California)
81. <u>New York Rocker</u> (1977-Present)		Articles on New Wave Music	(New York, New York)
82. <u>OP: Independent Music</u> (1978-Present)	John Foster	Record Reviews Articles	Lost Music Network (Olympia, Washington)

<u>Title of Periodical</u> (Duration of Publication)	<u>Current or Recent Editor</u>	<u>Outline of Periodical Content</u>	<u>Current or Recent Publisher</u> (Place of Publication)
83. <u>Paperback Writer: The International Nostalgia Review</u> (1979-Present)	D. J. Castellon	Articles on Popular Music Performers Photographs	Too Much Publishing Company (Fort Worth, Texas)
84. <u>Paul's Record Magazine</u> (1976-1978).	Paul E. Bezanker	Articles on 1950s R&B and Rock 'N' Roll Music Discographies Biographical Studies on Performers Record Auction Notices	P. E. Bezanker (Hartford, Connecticut)
85. <u>Record Digest</u> (1977-1979)	Jerry Osborne	Articles on Rock 'N' Roll, R&B, and Popular Music Discographies	Record Digest Corporation (Prescott, Arizona)
86. <u>Record Research: The Magazine of Record Statistics and Information</u> (1955-Present)	Len Kunstadt	Discographies of 78 r.p.m. Popular, Folk, Country and Western, and Jazz Records Record Auction Ads	(Brooklyn, New York)
87. <u>Reminiscing: The Official Journal of the Buddy Holly Memorial Society</u> (1976-Present)	William F. Griggs	Articles, Interviews, Memorabilia, and Reports on Buddy Holly	W. F. Griggs (Lubbock, Texas)
88. <u>Rock</u> (1976-1979)	Michael Gross	Articles on the Rock Music Scene Photographs	Modern Day Periodicals, Inc. (New York, New York)
89. <u>Rock Scene</u> (1973-1982)	Richard Robinson	Articles on Popular Music and Contemporary Performers Photographs Record Reviews	Four Seasons Publications, Inc. (Bethany, Connecticut)

<u>Title of Periodical</u> (Duration of Publication)	<u>Current or Recent Editor</u>	<u>Outline of Periodical Content</u>	<u>Current or Recent Publisher</u> (Place of Publication)
90. <u>Rock and Soul Songs</u> (1956-Present)	Ed Shelton	Articles on Black Musicians Song Lyrics	Charlton Publications, Inc. (Derby, Connecticut)
91. <u>Rockingschair</u> (1977-Present)	John Politis	Record Reviews	Cupola Productions (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania)
92. <u>Schwann 1: Record and Tape Guide</u> (1949-Present)	Richard Blackham	Record Lists	ABC-Schwann, Inc. (Cincinnati, Ohio)
93. <u>Schwann 2: Record and Tape Guide -- Supplement</u> (1949-Present)	Richard Blackham	Record Lists	ABC-Schwann, Inc. (Cincinnati, Ohio)
94. <u>Shout</u> (1967-Present)	Clive Richardson	Articles on Soul and R&B Music Discographies Record Reviews	Clive Richardson (Kent, England)
95. <u>Sing Out! The Folk Song Magazine</u> (1950-Present)	Irwin Silber	Articles on Folk, Blues, and Bluegrass Music Words, Music, and Chords For Songs Interviews Instrumental Techniques	Sing Out Magazine (New York, New York)
96. <u>Smash Hits</u> (1981-Present)	William T. Anderson	Articles on Popular Music Performers Photographs Song Lyrics	Charlton Publications, Inc. (Derby, Connecticut)
97. <u>Soul</u> (19 --Present)	Nickerson Jones	Articles on Black Recording Artists Record Reviews Photographs	Soul Publications, Inc. (Los Angeles, California)
98. <u>Soul and Jazz Record</u> (1974-Present)	Flo Jenkins	Articles on Black Popular Music Stars Photographs	Soul and Jazz Record, Inc. (Hollywood, California)

<u>Title of Periodical (Duration of Publication)</u>	<u>Current or Recent Editor</u>	<u>Outline of Periodical Content</u>	<u>Current or Recent Publisher (Place of Publication)</u>
99. <u>Storyville</u> (1965-present)	Laurie Wright	Articles and Research of Traditional Jazz and Classic Blues Discographies	Storyville Publications and Company (London, England)
100. <u>Words and Music</u> (1971-present)	Pauline Rivelli	Articles on Popular Music Personalities Photographs Record Reviews	Poppy Press, Inc. (New York, New York)
-- THE "BUBBLING UNDER THE HOT 100" PERIODICAL LIST --			
101. <u>American Music</u> (1983-present)	110. <u>Elvis World</u> (19 -present)		120. <u>Music Retailer</u> (1972-present)
102. <u>American Record Guide</u> (1935-present)	111. <u>Flexipop</u> (1971-present)		121. <u>Not Fade Away</u> (1977-present)
103. <u>Annual Review of Jazz Studies I</u> (1982-present)	112. <u>Frets: The Magazine of Acoustic String Instruments</u> (1979-present)		122. <u>Punk</u> (1976-present)
104. <u>Aware: A Rock Music Research Journal</u> (1977-present)	113. <u>Fusion</u> (1969-1977)		123. <u>Record Collector's Monthly</u> (1982-present)
105. <u>Bam: The California Music Magazine</u> (1976-present)	114. <u>The History of Rock</u> (19 -present)		124. <u>Sheet Music Magazine</u> (1976-present)
106. <u>Bop</u> (1982-present)	115. <u>Kerrang!</u> (198?-present)		125. <u>Songwriter</u> (1975-1981)
107. <u>Buddy: The Original Texas Music Magazine</u> (1973-present)	116. <u>Kicks</u> (1979-present)		126. <u>Talking Blues</u> (1976-present)
108. <u>Contemporary Music</u> (1975-present)	117. <u>Mean Mountain Music</u> (1976-present)		127. <u>Thunder Road</u> (19 -1982)
109. <u>Disco World</u> (1976-1979)	118. <u>Mississippi Rag: The Voice of Traditional Jazz and Ragtime</u> (1974-present)		128. <u>Tiger Beat</u> (1965-present)
	119. <u>Muleskinner News</u> (1970-1977)		129. <u>Whiskey, Women, and...: The Blues and Rhythm Jubilee</u> (1971-present)

RECORD REVIEWS

MEMPHIS JUG BAND (Yazoo L-1067). Double-LP reissue of twenty-eight recordings originally recorded in 1927-34 for the Victor and Okeh labels. Selections: *I'll See You in the Spring When the Birds Begin to Sing*, *Memphis Jug Blues*, *Cave Man Blues*, *Gator Wobble*, *Beale Street Mess Around*, *Memphis Yo Yo Blues*, *Stealin' Stealin'*, *Lindberg Hop*, *Fourth Street Mess Around*, *Memphis Boy Blues*, *Taking Your Place*, *On the Road Again*, *Tired of You Driving Me*, *Cocaine Habit Blues*, *Oh Ambulance Man*, *K. C. Moan*, *You May Leave but this Will Bring You Back*, *The Old Folks Started It*, *Newport News Blues*, *Take 1*, *Everybody's Talking About Sadie Green*, *Little Green Slippers*, *Spider's Nest Blues*, *Sometimes I Think I Love You*, *She Stays Out All Night Long*, *Insane Crazy Blues*, *Aunt Caroline Dyer Blues*, *What's the Matter?*, *Whitewash Station Blues*. Liner notes by Bengt Ollson.

The Memphis Jug Band was one of the most popular of the jug bands in the late 1920s, and this set offers ample evidence why. Only one or two of the tracks have not been reissued previously, but this set has excellent technical quality to recommend it, as well as informative liner notes by Bengt Ollson, whose extensive fieldwork in the Memphis area resulted in the 1970 publication *Memphis Blues*. One could perhaps speculate on the ultimate origins of the jug band: poverty, etc., lead to use of home-made instruments, and so forth. Ollson avoids such issues and confines his historical commentary to the more verifiable period. He finds that the jug band tradition developed in the Louisville, Kentucky, area, probably around 1905. In 1925, Memphian Will Shade heard recordings of Cliff Hayes's Louisville aggregation, the Dixieland Jug Blowers, and he soon put together his own ensemble, which became the Memphis Jug Band. Other bands in Memphis enjoyed popularity--e.g., Cannon's Jug Stompers, Jack Kelly's South Memphis Jug Band--but none achieved the success of Will Shade's group--at least not on records. The jug band phenomenon began to fade in 1930 as the novelty wore off and the Depression set in, and only a few recording sessions were held in the 1930s by the various jug bands. This double-LP collection is an excellent sampling of the nearly eighty sides the band, with varying personnel, cut between early 1927 and late 1934: lots of country blues, some raggy tunes, lots of double entendre party blues, some traditional black folksong themes, and many interesting topical references.

"I'll See You in the Spring..." has a refrain, "It's fare thee honey, fare thee well," that suggests a source for (or borrowing from?) one of the better-known Titanic songs. "Memphis Jug Blues," one of the band's signature pieces, has some marvelous polyphonic singing--three voices at times. "Cave Man Blues" uses the image of a coal miner digging in the caves as the basis for a bit of double entendre, throwing in a topical reference to Floyd Collins ("don't dig in the wrong hole like Floyd Collins done"). Songs like "Stealin'" and "K.C. Moan" were reissued on early LPs (the former on a 10" RCA "X" series disc, the latter on the influential Folkways Harry Smith Anthology) and both were enthusiastically picked up in the early folksong revival of the 1960s by Jim Keweskin, Dave Van Ronk, and others. "On the Road Again" is a predecessor of the Furry Lewis--type version of "Casey Jones." "Aunt Caroline Dyer Blues" refers to a popular fortune-teller of the New Orleans area. The vocals on the songs are distributed among several outstanding singers--Shade himself was not bad, but Hattie Hart, Minnie Wallace, and Jab Jones were better.

--Norm Cohen

VIRGINIA TRADITIONS: NATIVE VIRGINIA BALLADS AND SONGS (BRI 004). Seventeen selections dealing with Virginia subject matter, mostly recorded by Virginian artists, Between 1925 and 1980. Twenty-two-page booklet with introductory essay, song texts, historical and biographical notes, illustrations, discographies, and bibliographies, by Doug DeNatale. Selections: Hobart Smith, *Claude Allen*; Spence Moore, *Sidney Allen*, *The Fate of Dewey Lee*; James Taylor Adams and Finley Adams, *Poor Goins*; Branch W. Higgins, *The Vance Song*; Ernest V. Stoneman, *The Fate of Talmadge Osborne*; Vernon Dalhart, *The Wreck of the 1256*; Kelly Harrell and Henry Whitter, *The Wreck of the Old 97*; Ted Prillaman, *The Life and Death of Charlie Poole*; Floyd County Ramblers, *The Story of Freeda Bolt*; J. C. Pierce, *The*

Ballad of Caty Sage; Carter Family, *The Cyclone of Rye Cove*; Stanley Brothers, *The Story of the Flood*; Helen Cockram, *The Pinnacle Mountain Silver Mine*; Jim and Artie Marshall, *The New River Song*, *The Ballad of Fancy Gap*; Little "Doc" Raymond and The Coleman Partners.

VIRGINIA TRADITIONS: BLUE RIDGE PIANO STYLES (BRI 005). Fourteen selections by Anglo-American Virginian artists, recorded between 1928 and 1981. Fourteen-page booklet with introductory essay, biographical and music commentary, illustrations, by Pete Hartman. Selections: Gary Patton, *Cumberland Gap, T's for Texas*; The Hillbillies, *Fisher's Hornpipe*; Shelor Family, *Big Bend Gal*; Dorothy Zeh, *St. Louis Blues*; Haywood Blevins, *General Grant's Grand March*, *Double Quick March*; The Highlanders, *Flop Eared Mule*; Jennifer Crawford, *Turn Your Radio On*, *Golden Slippers*; Janie Carper, *Caravan*; H.M. Barnes' *Blue Ridge Ramblers*, *Blue Ridge Rambler's Rag*; Hobart Smith, *Fly Around My Blue-Eyed Girl*; Thelma Thompson, *Dill Pickle Rag*.

VIRGINIA TRADITIONS: TIDEWATER BLUES (BRI 006). Sixteen selections by Afro-American Virginian artists, recorded between 1928 and 1979. Eighteen-page booklet, with introductory essay, song texts, biographical notes, bibliography and discography, by Kip Lornell. Selections: Carl Hodges, *Leaving You Mama*, *Poor Boy Blues*; Henry Harris, *Albemarle County Rag*, *Motorcycle Blues*; The Virginia Four, *I'd Feel Much Better*; Pernell Charity, *Blind Love*, *War Blues*; William Moore, *Barbershop Rag*, *One Way Gal*; The Back Porch Boys, *King Kong Blues*, *Sweet Woman Blues*; John Cephas, *Black Rat Swing*; John Cephas and John Woolfork, *Richmond Blues*; Corner Morris, *Going Down the Road Feeling Good*; Big Boy, *Blues*; Monarch Jazz Quartet of Norfolk, *Pleading Blues*.

In the past couple of years a few academic institutions have tried their hand, alongside the commercial major record labels, the small independent producers, and (more recently) the commercial specialty corporations (e.g., Time Life, Smithsonian Institution), at the production of folk music albums. Because this is a new venture for academe, the success of the first few institutions that make the effort will, it seems to me, be important in influencing other institutions to tackle similar projects in the future.

One institution that has been notably successful at least in esthetic and intellectual terms (I don't know about the commercial success) is the Blue Ridge Institute of Ferrum College at Ferrum, Virginia. With support from the National Endowment for the Arts/Folk Arts Program, six albums have now been produced that treat various aspects of the folk music of Virginia. Volumes 1-3 were reviewed in *JEMFQ* #61 (Spring 1981); these three volumes are the next in the series. The records are relatively unusual in that the producers have drawn freely from commercial 78s and LPs as well as from archival field recordings and their own recent field recordings, striving for thematic continuity rather than consistency of source. The 11" x 11" booklets are uniform in design, providing the listener/reader with a well-written and researched introductory essay discussing the theme of the particular album, followed by the usual song headnotes that provide background on the songs, their sources, and their performers. Text, not musical, transcriptions are generally provided.

Volume Four offers seventeen native Virginian ballads, ranging from the extremely well known to the quite rare. Three ballads deal with railroad-related accidents: "The Fate of Talmadge Osborne," "The Wreck of the 1256," and "The Wreck of the Old 97," all from commercial 78s of the 1920s--the first and third by native Virginian performers. The two other recordings taken from commercial 78s are the Floyd County Ramblers' and the Carter Family's pieces, both dealing with incidents of 1929. Except for "Old 97," all of these songs, despite the popularity of the artists who recorded them, have been recovered extremely infrequently from oral noncommercial tradition.

The immensely popular and influential recording artist Vernon Dalhart is one of the few non-Virginian artists featured on this album's sampling. The others are Uncle Branch W. Higgins of Kentucky, who sings "The Vance Song," and the Adams cousins, also of Kentucky, who sing "Poor Goins." Evidently there are no known recordings of these ballads by Virginians; however, no apology should be necessary for any of their inclusions. Higgins's performance, originally made for the Library of Congress in 1937, is one of the best examples of unaccompanied American ballad singing on record. The Adamases' a *capella* unison duet is also a strong performance. James Taylor Adams, though Kentucky born, was one of the most productive folksong collectors in southwest Virginia.

Of considerably greater popularity are the two ballads about the Hillsville Courthouse shootout of 14 March 1912 involving the Allen Clan. DeNatale's headnotes provide an excellent summary of the historical details of the event, which spawned the two very popular ballads sung on this disc by Hobart Smith and Spence Moore. Moore's version of "Sidney Allen" is not sung to the usual "Casey Jones" tune but to a related melody that is eight, rather than four, lines of text long.

Of particular interest is "The Ballad of Caty Sage," an account of an event that occurred in Grayson County in 1792, but not written until 1940. The story of how this song came to be written a century and a half after the episode it documents is a fascinating example of the complicated chain of events that can lead to folk poetry and folk balladry.

The last four ballads on the album all either deal with events of the 1950s or later, or else were written then. They are testimony to the continuing strength of the tradition of folk balladry into the last two decades.

All in all, both the album and the accompanying booklet are quite commendable, and provide little cause for complaint. The introductory essay is a good review of contemporary notions about Anglo-American folk balladry and the role of the phonograph record in disseminating folksongs. (I think I am wearying, though, of the often-made comparison of the early A&R men of the record companies to their academic folksong collecting contemporaries. To me, the relationship between the two is much the same as the one between common grave-robbers and trained archaeologists.) The selections are musically strong, and well recorded, with the exception of two or three that are dubbed from rather scratchy old 78s. The brochure notes are informative and accurate. I would question the rationale behind the extremely short lists of references to other collected and/or recorded versions. The three recordings taken from the Library of Congress Archive of Folksong should have been so identified. Other discographic citations are not uniform and occasionally confusing to non-experts. For some reason, Arthur K. Davis is not credited with authorship of his two volumes of ballads of Virginia in the Bibliography. The photographs are well chosen and well reproduced.

Volume Five is devoted to a particular instrument, and one that is not often thought of as a vehicle for folk music. Pete Hartman's excellent introductory essay on the history of piano--both in general and in the Blue Ridge Mountains, leaves the listener/reader without any doubts of the importance of the instrument in folk tradition. An interesting question raised is why the piano, common in the area during the early decades of the twentieth century, is so poorly represented on hillbilly records of the 1920s and '30s. A possible explanation, offered by Charles Wolfe, is that "record company executives very early formed a stereotyped notion of what a mountain stringband should sound like, and they exercised more than a little influence to make sure the bands they recorded conformed to this stereotype." I think there is some truth to this idea; but it follows, since Al Hopkins's Hill Billies, the earliest large stringband to record, had a piano, that those stereotypes must have been formed prior to any exposure to real stringbands. I find this notion intriguing: on what, then, were their *a priori* stereotypes based? Most other possible explanations--lack of portability, unavailability of pianos on out-of-town recording expeditions, etc., collapse in the face of the great number of blues pianists recorded.

Like the preceding volumes, this one draws upon early commercial 78-rpm recordings as well as more recent "noncommercial" field recordings. Four selections fall into the former category: those by the Hillbillies, the Shelor Family, the Highlanders, and the Blue Ridge Ramblers. The range of roles taken by the piano is great: from simple back-up accompaniment for other instruments to part of ensemble to solo lead on marches, blues, rags, gospel, jazz/pop, and country songs. Little is said in the brochure notes about the style of the playing *per se*; any knowledgeable listener will probably realize that most if not all of these instrumentalists are playing by ear and not from sheet music. Though differences between these musicians and classically trained pianists are easy to detect, it is harder to articulate them. In the case of those pieces learned from more "sophisticated" pianists, probably over radio or on discs, such as "Caravan" and "Dill Pickle Rag," the difference is partially a matter of simplification--elimination of technically difficult sequences, greater repetition, etc., such as one finds when one compares a popular Tin Pan Alley ballad with a rendition by a folksinger. More interesting are the songs that the performer probably never heard on a piano, but transposed from another instrument, such as "T for Texas" and "Fly Around My Blue-Eyed Girl." Hobart Smith's rendition of the latter tune sounds very much like he has in mind a banjo (or fiddle) and guitar, and is trying to reconstruct the sound on the piano. This is not unlikely, since Smith played all those instruments with greater proficiency. His piano playing is so idiosyncratic it is regrettable there is not more of it preserved on records. Hartman refers, in his notes, to the once-promised LP featuring Smith on piano that never appeared; there is another recording available on LP, however: "Cindy" was recorded on the Asch label some forty years ago and has been reissued in a boxed set (Asch AA 3/4).

Hartman's generally very good brochure notes focus on the performers and their milieu, with little if any commentary on the songs/tunes themselves. The problem of selective vs. exhaustive discography/bibliography is solved by not giving any references to other renditions at all.

Volume Six, like Volume Three of the series, is devoted to the blues tradition of black folk artists; but whereas BRI 003 focused on the Western Piedmont, this album examines the Tidewater area of far-eastern Virginia. The selections by the Virginia Four, William Moore, and the Monarch Jazz Quartet are from commercial 78s of the 1920s and '30s; those by the Back Porch Boys are from commercial recordings of 1950. Big Boy was recorded non-commercially in 1941 by Roscoe Lewis; the other selections were made between 1972 and 1979 by Pete Lowry (for his Trix label) and Kip Lornell.

Lornell's introductory essay covers much the same ground as his introduction to BRI 003, discussing the culture and geography of the region under discussion and summarizing contemporary notions about the origins and development of the blues as a folk musical style. There is no discussion in

the two essays about the differences, if any, between the blues styles of the Piedmont and the Tidewater regions. In a broader sense, the two regions are part of one larger blues stylistic region that includes the four states of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. Two elements Lornell finds that are common to all four states are an unstrained vocal style, emphasizing clear diction, and a fluid style of guitar playing marked by sophisticated harmonics. Frequently encountered is a "raggy" syncopated two-finger picking style. These characteristics are in sharp contrast to the blues of Mississippi, where singers cultivated an intense, high-pitched singing style and a guitar style, using triplet notes frequently, that relied more on melodic than harmonic embellishments.

Many of the guitar-accompanied selections illustrate these characteristics. The *a capella* vocals by the Virginia Four, also known as the Norfolk Jazz/Jubilee Quartet, and the Monarch Jazz Quartet--probably the same group--are typical of many recordings of the 1920s and '30s by groups that recorded gospel songs under one name and off-color blues or jazz vocals under another, but in much the same style.

All in all, this album, like its predecessors, has much to recommend it. The selections are all of high musical quality, with only slight surface noise on some of the older 78s; the brochure notes are good, and provide the listener with references to other relevant recordings of Tidewater artists. The National Endowment for the Arts should consider its money well spent on this entire project.

--N.C.

OBITUARIES

NORMAN PIERCE, 78, for more than 30 years the proprietor of Jack's Record Cellar, died 13 June while on vacation in Utah. Pierce and the Record Cellar were internationally known among record collectors and Pierce also was responsible for issuing and distributing dozens of small, locally-based record labels. The Cellar's huge basement was the first home of the Bay Area's two largest independent, specialty record distributorships--Bayside, owned by Chris Strachwitz, and City Hall, owned by Robin Cohn. Both credit Pierce's guidance, commercially and musically, with having gotten them off on the right track.

Pierce came to San Francisco from the Boston area in the 1930s and was prominent in the ILWU organization. A constant traveler, he knew the world, its people and its music intimately. An authority on all kinds of recorded music, his preferences leaned toward ethnic music styles such as blues, traditional jazz and worldwide folk music.

He acquired Jack's, a foundering secondhand record store on Jones Street, in the 1950s, moved it to a basement at Haight and Webster (thus Jack's Record "Cellar") and a few years later moved to the main floor at 254 Scott St.

A big man whose looks bleied his age, with an insatiable appetite for reading, music and travel, Pierce was an irreplaceable member of the Bay Area's music community.

(Philip Elwood, *San Francisco Examiner*--June 17, 1983)

ROY D'AUTREMONT, who led his two brothers on what became known as the last great American train robbery, died in a nursing home in Salem, Oregon, in July.

D'Autremont blew up a Southern Pacific mail car in 1923 at a rail tunnel south of Ashland in the Siskiyou Mountains along with his brothers, Ray and Hugh. The blast killed a mail clerk and the D'Autremonts shot an engineer, a fireman and a brakeman to death before making their getaway.

The brothers, led by Ray, were after \$40,000 in gold thought to be aboard the train. In fact, there was no gold. Nevertheless, the heist became nationally known as the last great American train robbery.

RECORDS BRIEFLY NOTED

PRAIRIE SERENADE: RIDERS IN THE SKY (Rounder 0170). Having heard the Riders in the Sky in concert, I was pleased by the opportunity to review this album, their third and most recent on Rounder Records. While it is, to a certain extent, unfair to compare a studio-produced recording with all that one experiences at a live performance, the marked discrepancy between these two experiences makes it, for me, worthy of note. The Riders in the Sky are, at this time, the most popular contemporary exponents of western or cowboy music in the United States. It is easy to account for this popularity in a concert setting. Musically, their arrangements are inventive and tasteful, and their vocal and instrumental harmonies excellent. Just as important, if not more so, there is a friendliness and vitality in their performance style and in the type of rapport they seek to establish among themselves and with their audience. Somehow they do manage to suggest something of the campfire and the trail.

A great deal of this spirit is lost in the cuts on this album, which include original material as well as standards. Again, the arrangements are excellent and the harmonies lush, and there is some wonderful yodelling (not enough for my tastes--a minor point), but the recordings seem much too polished and too fine--moving toward art music--for material in this genre. One is left guessing as to just what type of audience the Riders in the Sky are trying to attract or to reach. (This ambiguity is reflected in the lack of liner notes: no information at all is provided concerning the background and recording history of these songs.)

This is a very difficult type of material to bring to the level of "popular consumption" (and everything about the packaging of this album indicates that this is such an attempt), because its social, historical, economic, and even emotional associations and implications are part of its appeal (or lack of it) to individuals. That the Riders in the Sky continue, in concert at least, to remake and revitalize a set of symbols which is certainly one of the most evocative and enduring that America has given the world--the cowboy and his life--is a considerable achievement. To ignore these dimensions and this spirit in their studio recordings is, I believe, to doom the Riders in the Sky to popular musical ephemerality.

--Clodagh Brennan Harvey
University of California, Los Angeles

BLUES REISSUES. Some two decades ago, perhaps as an outgrowth of the folksong revival, a handful of blues collectors and scholars took to the field in the South and tracked down a large number of blues recording artists from the 1920s and thirties. This activity led to a number of albums of newly recorded old blues masters and also to reissues of vintage recordings. Origin Jazz Library emerged at that time as a new label offering blues reissues that capitalized on the newly-emerging information that was surfacing. Some twenty albums were released. After a long hiatus, proprietor Bill Givens has reactivated the label with three recent reissue releases. *Peg Leg Howell and His Gang--1927-1930* (OJL-22) features fourteen sides by several musicians from the Atlanta region who performed in blues stringbands: Peg Leg Howell and His Gang, Tampa Joe and Macon Ed, and Henry Williams and Eddie Anthony. On all of these guitar/violin/vocal selections, violin is played by Eddie Anthony (=Macon Ed). Biographical information is available only for Howell, thanks to fieldwork by George Mitchell in 1963. These recordings represent an underdocumented aspect of black folk music, probably from a transitional period before the blues emerged in the styles to which we are more accustomed. Aside from historical significance, they make excellent listening. All but three of the tracks have been previously reissued, but most were on now-unavailable LPs. *Lonnie Johnson* (OJL-23) offers sixteen selections by one of the most gifted blues/jazz musicians of the second quarter of the century. As Lawrence Cohn observed in his liner notes, few musicians in American pop music could move "so expertly between as many varied styles as...Johnson." This album samples the blues side of his repertoire and amply demonstrates his skills. Happily, over half of the cuts have not been pre-

viously reissued--and, in fact, four were not previously issued in any form. *Memphis Minnie: 1944-49* (OJL-24) features one of the greatest female blues musicians on record at a period when most listeners would agree she was not at her best. This was partly due to changes in contemporary tastes away from the styles in which she was best; and also to a rather institutionalized approach to blues recordings in Chicago in the 1940s that seemed to sap the idiom of much of its vigor and creativity. Producer Lawrence Cohn provides informative liner notes to place Memphis Minnie and her career in perspective. Most blues reissues have been coming from small independent labels such as Origin Jazz Library. A noteworthy exception is "Sleepy" John Estes: *Down South Blues (1935-1940)* (MCA-1339), a reissue by MCA Records of fifteen selections by the popular Depression blues musician who recorded for both Victor/Bluebird and Decca. All the selections on this LP were previously reissued, but only seven are available at present.

--Norm Cohen

EPIC'S OKEH SERIES. In *JEMFO #64* Cary Ginnel reviewed *Okeh Western Swing* (Epic EG-37324), one of five double-LP sets that Epic released in 1982 which purport to survey the different kinds of music released on the Okeh label through its long history. As Ginnel noted, not all the selections featured were associated with the Okeh label. *Okeh Chicago Blues* (Epic 37318) included twenty-nine selections originally recorded between 1934 and 1947 for the Vocalion, Okeh, and Columbia labels, fifteen of which were not previously issued. Arranged in chronological order, the artists on the first two sides include Big Boy Edwards, Victoria Spivey, Curtis Jones, Roosevelt Scott, Peter Chatman, Brownie McGhee, Champion Jack Dupree, Roosevelt Sykes, Tony Hollins, Peter Cleighton, Memphis Minnie, Little Son Joe, Big Bill, and Merline Johnson. The last two sides are divided between Johnny Shines (four unissued performances, 1946); Muddy Waters (three unissued performances, 1946); and Big Joe Williams (eight performances, 1947). Full discographic data are given; liner notes by Jim O'Neal give biographical background on all the performers. *Okeh Rhythm & Blues* (Epic EG-37649) includes twenty-eight selections originally recorded between 1950 and 1966, featuring Smiley Lewis, Chuck Willis, Big Maybelle (three selections), Screamin' Jay Hawkins, Titus Turner (three selections), Larry Darnell, The Ravens (three selections), Johnny Ray, The Sandmen, The Marquees, Billy Stewart, The Schoolboys, The Sheppards, The Treniers, Paul Gayten, Little Joe & the Thrillers, Doc Bagby, Red Saunders, and Little Richard. Original releases are not identified. Biographic/historic data are given in liner notes by Marv Goldberg and Marcia Vance. *Okeh Jazz* (Epic EG-37315) includes eight selections by Arnett Cobb (1950-52), four by Little Johnny Griffin (ca. 1954), five by Red Rodney (1952), six by Ahmad Jamal (1951-52), three by Wild Bill Davis (1951-53), and three by Mary Ann McCall (1947). Original recordings are not identified; liner notes are by Bob Porter. *Okeh Soul* (Epic EG-37321) includes eight selections by Major Lance, four by Billy Butler, six by Walter Jackson, one by the Opals, three by the Aristics, and two by the Vibrations, all recorded between 1962 and 1965 in Chicago. Liner notes are by Joe McEwen.

--N.C.

ETHNIC RECORDINGS. *Amade Ardoin* (Old Timey 124), Vol. 6 in Old Timey's continuing series of Louisiana Cajun Music, features the first black zydeco recording artist. Very little is known about Ardoin's life, but according to Michael Doucet's liner notes this legendary accordion player and singer, who played and recorded with Cajun fiddler Dennis McGee, was largely responsible for developing the style of what is now known as cajun music. This reissue includes seven selections of Ardoin and McGee and seven of Ardoin alone, all recorded in 1929-30. The back jacket includes texts and translations for three of Ardoin's lyrics, probably his own, distinctive, compositions. *Leo Soileau and his Four Aces* (Old Timey 125), Vol. 7 in the same series, features an excellent Cajun fiddler whose band was one of the most popular in the genre during the 1930s. The fifteen selections reissued on this LP were recorded between 1929 and 1937. Tony Russell's liner notes comment on Soileau's penchant for taking pop and country songs and reworking them in Cajun idiom: e.g., "Personne M'aime Pas" is "Nobody's Darling But Mine," and "In Your Heart You Love Another" is basically "Columbus Stockade Blues." *Harry Choates* (Arhoolie 5027) is a good follow-up to Ardoin and then Soileau, as Choates was the most popular Cajun fiddler of the 1940s. The sixteen selections on this LP were made in Houston between 1946 and 1949.

On the Beach at Waikiki (Folkways FRS 612) is a collection of fourteen Hawaiian guitar recordings "from the 'teens to the 'fifties," though specific data are not given for any of the pieces. The artists include the Hanapi Trio, Frank Ferera and Helen Louise, the Hawaiian Islanders, the Yale Hawaiian Trio, Kane's Hawaiians, the Hilo Hawaiian Orchestra, and the Six and Seven-Eights String Band. At least two of the groups are mainlanders, though the steel guitarist with the New Orleans

Six and Seven-Eights String Band was Hawaiian. The selections were compiled by Samuel Charters, who provided the brief brochure notes (which borrow heavily on Robert F. Gear's researches, summarized in Gear's liner notes to *Hula Blues* (Rounder 1012)). The music tends much more to the pop side of Hawaiian music than, for example, does the sampling on *Hawaiian Steel Guitar Classics, Vol. 2 (1924-1934)* (Folklyric 9027), edited by Bob Brozman and Chris Strachwitz, with liner notes by Brozman. This latter collection shows much more instrumental virtuosity and also traditional Hawaiian singing than the former one. The artists include Sol Hoopii, Madame Riviere's Hawaiians, Kalama's Quartet, The Three Jacks, Sol K. Bright's Hawaiians, King Nawahi's Hawaiians, the Hawaiian Orchestra (a German band), Kane's Hawaiians, the Trio De Hawaii (Frank Ferera), Mike Hanapi's Ilima Islanders, and Palakiko & Paaluhi (Frank Ferera).

Send Your Children to the Orphan Home (Folkways RF 4), subtitled "The Real Calypso, Vol. 2," is a fascinating collection of "Calypso songs of social commentary and love troubles" compiled and annotated by Samuel Charters. The fourteen selections feature The Executor, Atila the Hun, Wilmoth Houdini, The Caresser, The Lion, The Tiger, Lord Invader, Lionel Belasco, and the Harmony Kings. Most of the selections were recorded in Trinidad in the 1930s, but a few were made in New York while the performers were on tour there. The topics touched on include the abdication of Edward VIII, Bill "Bojangles" Robinson, Armistice Day, the invasion of Ethiopia by Mussolini in 1935, and other, more local, happenings. To the extent possible, the brochure notes include text transcriptions, a difficult task considering the intricate and rapidly spoken lyrics of most calypso songs. The quality of musicianship on the selections is high.

Across the Fields (Folklore Village Farm Records FVF 201) is a collection of traditional Norwegian-American fiddle tunes and button accordion melodies recorded in 1981-82 in Wisconsin. The musicians include the Bergerson Family, Bertel Berntsen, The Blom Family, Bruce Bollerud, Leonard Finseth, Rudolph Jackson, Arnold and Evelyn Olson, and Ed Stendalen. A separately-sold 48-page booklet includes documentary photographs, historical background information, and transcriptions of twenty old-time Norwegian-American tunes from this album and other sources. The album was produced by Phil Martin, who wrote the text to the booklet. (Available from Wisconsin Old-Time Music Project, 214 Shepard Terrace, Madison WI 53705; record, \$8.00; booklet, \$4.50; both together, \$11.00--all post-paid.)

--N.C.

BOOK REVIEWS

LOW BRIDGE: FOLKLORE AND THE ERIE CANAL, by Lionel D. Wyld (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1962; fifth printing, 1982), 212pp.

The recent reprinting of Dr. Wyld's pioneer study of the Erie Canal in folklore and literature indicates the popularity it has won since its first appearance some twenty years ago. Inspired by MacEdward Leach's suggestion, Dr. Wyld set out to compile all the material he could find dealing with the famous "ditch" that ran from Albany to Buffalo.

After discussions dating back to the early 1700s, construction finally began in 1817 and was completed in 1825--the longest canal in the world. Dr. Wyld gives a brief history of the construction period and goes on to discuss the terms the canal contributed to speech and its appeal to tourists, who included internationally known figures like Charles Dickens and Fanny Kemble.

A key chapter surveys the folklore of the area through which the canal ran, and the folk characters who had some relation to the Big Ditch. These included the canallers themselves, marginal Erie folk characters like Sam Patch and Paddy Ryan, and folk heroes transplanted from other locales. Most important were the indigenous canallers--or canawlers--who had their own code, their own customs, their own nicknames, and their own superstitions; and who created the many tall tales that reflected their pioneer period.

Canalside sports included cockfights, betting, drinking, races between canal boats, and fighting, above all, fighting. Canal songs included two well-known ones: "The E-ri-e Canal" and "Low Bridge, Everybody Down," and a host of lesser known ones, some of which appeared on sheet music and others that survived in the memories of old-time canallers.

In addition to the folklore, Wyld surveys the various poems, plays, and novels inspired by the canal, and references to it in such well-known works as *Moby Dick* and Mark Twain's *Roughing It*. Most important of the many authors was Walter D. Edmonds who became known as "the laureate of the Erie Canal." His best known book was *Rome Haul* which became a movie as *The Farmer Takes a Wife*.

Dr. Wyld has been successful in compiling a great range of material relating to the canal and presenting it in an interesting form. The book is well annotated and includes a substantial section of photographs, the music of a number of songs, several maps, and an index. It is a useful collection and it is good to know that it is being kept in print.

--Edith Fowke
York University
Ontario, Canada

VIDEOTAPING LOCAL HISTORY, by Brad Jolly (Nashville, TN: American Association for State and Local History, 1982). 160 pp., illustrations, appendices, glossary, index. \$11.95 (\$9.00 to members of AASLH.)

Video technology is a rapidly growing, but little understood, field. Millions of television enthusiasts have purchased videocassette recorders (VCRs) to tape programs off the air and to play pre-recorded films available from the burgeoning video rental centers. When competition between electronics manufacturers of VHS systems and Sony's Beta line forced down the price of video cameras and caused the creation of increasingly easier to operate and portable cameras, VCR users extended the capabilities of their systems and began videotaping what they had once documented with Super 8 and, previously, regular 8mm film. Both home movie makers and those who had thought home movies were either too difficult or too expensive to make now began making videotapes of family events for documentation purposes. Some even attempted professional "feature" tapes for broadcast. Because of in-

creased home market use, scholars were less intimidated by video technology than they had been by 16mm film (the preferred medium of educational users) and began to realize the potential which videotape had for field recording, preservation, and the presentation of ideas and materials to the public. Although basic videotape cassette manuals, such as Tom Schroepel's *The Bare Bones Camera Course for Film and Video* (2nd ed., Miami: P.O. Box 521110), began to supersede earlier manuals like Video-freex's *The Spaghetti City Video Manual* (New York: Praeger, 1973), that addressed the problems of using the now almost obsolete reel-to-reel equipment, scholars were silent, at least in print, about how to apply video within the needs of their fields. This silence is due, in part, to the small number of scholars actually employing videotape. In folklore, for example, Lewis Wills, Jr., surveyed 404 higher educational institutions and 163 archives and discovered that only 25 archivists reported using videotape, and 21 folklore instructors reported training their students in video use, despite the response that over 50 percent would like to use video, and 80 percent believed that video use would increase during the 1980s (*The Use of Videotape in Folkloristics in the United States*, Ph.D. dissertation, Georgia State University, 1982). Thus, Brad Jolly's work should prove to be a welcome addition to the video literature for it covers both the basics of the equipment as well as answers to the questions about what scholars can accomplish with video.

Jolly devotes the first three chapters of his book to video technology, hardware, and use of the equipment. He explains how the videotape recorder (VTR) magnetically records the electronic signal converted from the light gathered by the camera's vidicon tube and reverses the process for playback, using detailed figures to clarify the process. Despite the similarities to the film medium, Jolly believes video has the advantage because it can be instantly played back, is erasable and thus reusable, and may be edited without cutting the original. He does not mention that film quality surpasses video as does film editing ease.

Video is available in numerous formats but today most manufacturers market 3/4" U-Matic cassettes for schools and libraries, and 1/2" Beta-max or VHS cassettes for the home market. Jolly prefers 1/2" equipment to serve archives, museums, and historical societies for in-house use since it is more affordable than 3/4" equipment. The main problem is editing and picture quality. Since the wider the tape, the greater the quality, professional editing and eventual broadcast and distribution will demand 3/4" equipment. Most video cameras are compatible with either system. Thus, despite costs, I would recommend 3/4" (until and unless the market changes) since it is difficult to know initially what uses one might want to make of video after becoming familiar with the capabilities. Jolly does not opt for either but merely lists the pros and cons of each. In addition to discussing VCRs and cameras, Jolly also gives information on microphones, headphones, tripods, body braces, light kits, battery packs, and monitors. He likes lavalier microphones, which is surprising since most AV folks find that they pick up clothes rustles, but he does acquaint readers with the differences between dynamic and condenser microphones--useful information.

In "Using Video Equipment," Jolly covers connections and hook-ups for recording and playback, and describes the functions and operation of the camera and deck. Illustrations clarify each control, plug, and adaptor, and help demystify the process of setting up. Recording and production techniques are included as are the differences between key, fill, and back lighting. Jolly also points out the common but unforeseen problems such as how to avoid overloading circuits. As anyone who shoots film or video knows, lighting will often blow fuses so Jolly remembers to tell novices to carry spares.

Although aimed at a beginner's level, this book covers multiple camera recording with special effects generators, and discusses the use of an audio mixer and of editing equipment. Some of this information will puzzle readers, but once they begin to shoot video, they will want to overcome certain limitations with added equipment. Likewise, most video users will eventually want to edit their tapes (raw footage is rarely appealing to watch), and understanding how editing works will affect the types of shots and lengths of shots one chooses. Although we may not plan to edit initially, we should be prepared for it in case our desires change later. (For example, unless one leaves fifteen seconds at the head of the tape before the desired action begins, without dubbing one will never be able to edit the first shot from its beginning, because the source deck in editing needs that time to preroll, a dismaying situation if not planned for in advance.) Jolly's descriptions of such terms as *assembly edit*, *audio dubs*, and *video inserts* are useful although he does not point out that an insert edit not only inserts material, but can in fact be used as a different type of edit to build the entire tape without breaking the control track (for smoother editing).

The second half of Jolly's work concerns the use of video by historical societies and museums. Dealing with the ways video is now in use, Jolly gives specific examples: tapes housed in a separate outbuilding are a supplement giving historical background to a tour at Colonial Williamsburg; at the Oakland Museum, oral history interviews, still photographs, and location scenes add "cultural context" to artifacts; short video segments at the Brooklyn Museum "teleport" viewers to the locales from which art derives and give insight into the scenery and lifestyles of the culture. Some institutions make their own tapes and others hire production crews for professional results. Obviously the goal of the institution will affect the choices of play length, method of showing, placement of viewing

facilities, and type of crew. Other listed uses of video include: documenting objects in use and the processes of creation and restoration; shooting seasonal activities and dramatizations; and making tapes for educational and commercial television networks.

A chapter on extending access points out the use of video shows for handicapped visitors. Jolly takes us through the production of a taped tour of the second floor of Trout Hall at the Lehigh County Historical Society, and gives both the entire narration and all of the visual scenes as a complete example. Other handicapped situations which limit access are dealt with briefly.

Beyond interpreting history, video can preserve historical data by adding to the audio taping presently in use for documenting oral history. Video adds the extra dimensions of facial expressions, gestures, and insights into personality as well as a geographic sense of place. Jolly presents the process whereby one might conduct an oral history interview, from making an equipment checklist, establishing rapport, and planning shots in advance, to the actual camera shots one might employ.

The book briefly touches upon video for training, teaching, and evaluating staff, for demonstrating museum work, supplementing conference presentations, and exchanging information within the field. The care and indexing of tapes are discussed in a short chapter (five pages) on archiving. Three extensive appendices detail 3/4" and 1/2" equipment, editors, and cameras. Each item has a price and a list of features and many are pictured for identification.

What will become immediately apparent to readers is that Jolly's emphasis is upon the technology and production of video. The application of video to oral and local history is covered, but to a lesser degree, with museums and similar institutions as the primary users. Unfortunately this book will not satisfy those users who might wish to create independent oral history projects or document historical or folkloric events as they unfold and edit them to demonstrate the results of fieldwork. Because of the lack of theoretical discussion, might readers be better served by consulting video "how-to" books? How significant is Jolly's contribution?

Videotaping Local History is important simply because it will lead oral historians, museologists, and fieldworkers, who have never dreamed of consulting a video manual, to think about the possibilities of making visual documents. Once that step is taken, readers will enjoy learning that video is not overly complicated and will adapt and expand upon Jolly's suggestions in the creation of their own projects. Taken as a whole, this book is a brief but valuable guide.

--Sharon Sherman
University of Oregon
Eugene, Oregon

IMAGES OF AMERICAN SOCIETY IN POPULAR MUSIC: A GUIDE TO REFLECTIVE TEACHING, by B. Lee Cooper (Chicago: Nelson-Hall Publishers, 1982), 282pp. Cloth, \$22.95; Paper, \$10.95.

If you can't tell a book by its cover, you can't always tell much from its title either. The title, *Images of American Society in Popular Music*, notwithstanding, this book does not use popular music to project images of American society. Rather, following the sub-title it is a guide to the school teacher on how to go about drawing lessons about American society from popular music lyrics.

The work is organized as a source book. The Introduction and Chapter One provide lists of justifications for using popular music as a teaching tool, and provide rejoinders for the standard arguments against using such "frivolous" material as popular music in the classroom. Chapter One also illustrates the use of music in illustrating eleven topics including such things as "black history," "problems of youth," "lyric propaganda," and "future concerns." In each case, a one-sentence statement of the "question" is followed by nine related concepts which students may investigate. A two-sentence section entitled "approach" follows in which the teacher is instructed to ask students to look for songs to illustrate the topic in question. Next, twenty or so illustrative songs are listed followed by a brief bibliography.

The chapters that follow on sexism, religion, the black experience, the black roots of popular music, the outsider (usually deviant teens), urban life, and biographies of nine selected performers or groups employ much the same format but detail more resources. The remaining chapters of the book touch a scattering of topics including the uses of computer in research on popular music, an annotated bibliography of popular music discographies, record reviews as a teaching resource, an opening-day collection of popular music albums for librarians, and the transcription of an interview with an audio-center director.

For the teacher just beginning the enterprise of using music in the classroom, the book suggests a number of resources and ideas. For the person with interests in the image of society in music, however, there is relatively little to be learned from this source book.

Most of the "social comment" songs from the 1960s which readily come to mind are to be found among the illustrations. A few of these, however, are used under a number of topic headings. For example, Janice Ian's "Society's Child" is cited in four categories: problems of youth, personal problems, negative self-image, and problems of relating to others. As this illustration also suggests, Cooper has chosen categories that overlap to a great extent. At the same time, a number of fruitful topics reflected in the music have been missed entirely. Several types of love songs are mentioned, but what of the love-and-death songs which retell the Romeo and Juliet story? Viet Nam era war and anti-war songs are mentioned, but not the many songs about police and the other agents of social control. Again, no use is made of the songs describing the drug experience or debating drug use. Finally, there is no category devoted to the ongoing commentary contained in popular music on the joys and futilities of the American public school system.

Any set of suggested songs will, of course, show the predilections of the selector. In this instance, Phil Ochs, who has never had a song on the popular song charts, is cited ten times, while no use is made of any songs from the symbolically rich resources of punk, new-wave, or disco music of the late 1970s.

Cooper wants to use popular music as a mirror of American society, but he never addresses the fundamental question of how well or in what particular ways the music mirrors society. In my view, the mirror is partial and distorted at best, and it is for good reason that particular songs become popular to the degree that they fulfill the social (primarily courtship) needs of the teenagers and young adults who patronize the medium. The attempt to bring these concerns into critical focus in a classroom as Cooper does in this work is a laudatory effort, but it is misleading, and the doubters that Cooper mentions at the outset have every right to object when the lyrics of popular music songs are represented as revealing American society. Rather, they present concerns felt by young people as these are filtered through the distorting lens of the massive multinational communications industry.

--Richard A. Peterson
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

POPULAR MUSIC 1: FOLK OR POPULAR? DISTINCTIONS, INFLUENCES, CONTINUITIES, eds Richard Middleton and David Horn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 222pp; \$49.50.

POPULAR MUSIC 2: THEORY AND METHOD, eds. Richard Middleton and David Horn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 341pp; \$49.50.

International popular music scholarship is alive and well. The advent of *Popular Music*, a multi-disciplinary yearbook published by the Cambridge University Press which features perceptive articles and book reviews penned by musicologists, historians, folklorists, literary critics, and sociologists from the United Kingdom, Western and Eastern Europe, and the United States attests to this fact. The editorial board and corresponding editors for this new annual publication include such noted popular music analysts as Howard S. Becker, Simon Frith, Charles Hamm, Norman A. Josephs, Wilfrid Mellers, Paul Oliver, Philip Tagg, and Graham Vulliamy. The managing editors, Richard Middleton (*Pop Music and the Blues*, 1972) and David Horn (*The Literature of American Music in Books and Folk Music Collections*, 1977), are widely respected authorities in musicological and bibliographic fields of popular music. In short, this new yearbook is produced by a broad spectrum of thinkers whose credentials place them on the cutting edge of musical research and writing.

Popular Music 1 was published in the Spring of 1981. It contains ten articles and eighteen single or multiple text reviews. Among the studies featured in this collection are: "Making Artistic Popular Music: The Goal of True Folk" by John Blacking, "The Making of the Tyneside Concert Hall" by David Harker, "Really the 'Walking Blues': Son House, Muddy Waters, Robert Johnson and the Development of a Traditional Blues" by John Cowley, "'Gospel Boogie': White Southern Gospel Music in Transition, 1945-1955" by Charles Wolfe, "Neo-Traditional Popular Music in East Africa Since 1945" by Gerhard Kubik, "The Fourth Audience" by Charles Hamm, "God, Modality, and Meaning in Some Recent Songs of Bob Dylan" by Wilfrid Mellers, and "'The Magic that Can Set You Free': The Ideology of Folk and the Myth of the Rock Community" by Simon Frith. Each of these articles is carefully crafted, clearly argued, and devoid of pompous generalizations and over-citation. In nearly every case, an appropriate list of reference resources is provided. The lengthy review section in this yearbook displays thoughtful comments by knowledgeable scholars on a variety of new books.

Popular Music 2 is nearly 50 percent larger than the initial volume in this series and introduces a precisely-worded annotated bibliography of popular music texts published between January 1980

and September 1981. This valuable 17-page "Booklist," compiled by Simon Frith, Stephen M. Fry, and David Horn, provides full citations on two hundred book-length publications written in English, French, German, Italian, and Danish. Featured among the eleven major articles in this volume are: "Analyzing Popular Music: Theory, Method and Practice" by Philip Tagg, "The Urbanization of African Music: Some Theoretical Observations" by David Coplan, "A Theoretical Model for the Sociomusicological Analysis of Popular Musics" by John Shepherd, "'Twixt Midnight and Day: Binarism, Blues, and Black Culture" by Paul Oliver, "The Critique Criticised: Adorno and Popular Music" by Max Paddison, and "Rock Music: A Musical-Aesthetic Study" by Peter Wicke. In addition to numerous standard book and record reviews at the end of the yearbook, Stephen Barnard presents a ten-page study covering eight recent books about John Lennon and the Beatles; and Graham Vulliamy, Norman A. Josephs, Greg Holt, and David Horn provide a detailed fifteen-page critique of the twenty-volume *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980).

The preceding paragraphs provide much detail on the contents of *Popular Music* 1/2. Hopefully, this survey faithfully illustrates the scope and quality of this new publishing venture. The considerable marketing risk of charging nearly fifty dollars per volume is somewhat offset by a 50 percent discount offered to non-institutional, individual subscribers who are also members of the American Musicological Society, the Sonneck Society, the Society of Ethnomusicology, the International Association for the Study of Popular Music, the Popular Culture Association, or the International Folk Music Council. The value of this yearbook is indisputable. The availability of superior short studies from the top research names in popular music scholarship appears to pose no problem for editors Middleton and Horn. What does seem to be difficult, though, is the achievement of thematic continuity within each volume of this series. The first two yearbooks claim to focus on distinctive themes: "Folk or Popular? Distinctions, Influences, Continuities"; and "Theory and Method." Yet in neither case do the diverse articles featured in the periodical provide consistent, coherent commentary on the assigned topic. The editors would probably be wise to abandon the elusive topical thrust which is projected to include "Producers and Markets" (1983), "Performers and Audiences" (1984), and "Continuity and Change" (1985) in future issues. These yearbooks are so strong and so exciting that the articles will stand by themselves--like a "Top 10" list of contemporary hit tunes--without the unifying billing of an album-like theme.

It is particularly encouraging to greet a powerful new popular music publication in these troubled economic times. Reportedly, 1983 will usher in yet another new quarterly entitled *American Music*. This journal is scheduled to be published by the University of Illinois Press, a highly respected source of blues, folk, and country music books. But as new musical publications appear, some extremely fine scholarly and popular periodicals have been strangely absent from the mails during the past twelve-to-eighteen months. Among these sadly fading journals are *Time Barrier Express*, *Record Exchanger*, and Bowling Green State University's superb *Popular Music and Society*. Hopefully, these fine publications will be revived soon. But, in the meantime, there is no better scholarly yearbook available than the Cambridge University Press anthology *Popular Music*.

--B. Lee Cooper
Newberry College
Newberry, South Carolina

FOLK FESTIVALS: A HANDBOOK FOR ORGANIZATION AND MANAGEMENT, by Joe Wilson and Lee Udall (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1982), 278pp; \$21.50.

As the title indicates, the primary purpose of this work is to provide practical assistance to people involved in the production of folk festivals. It is based in large part on the past experience of the authors in directing the National Folk Festival. Perhaps it should be noted that Wilson is also the author of *Presenting Folk Culture: A Handbook on Folk Festival Organization and Management* (National Council for the Traditional Arts; 1978).

In a brief introduction to the general history of folk festivals, primarily in the United States Wilson and Udall grapple with some difficult problems of definition and conceptualization. They attempt to develop a classificatory schema for types of performers ("traditional folk performer, aware traditional folk performer, evolved traditional performer," etc.).

Wilson and Udall settle on a distinction between *folk culture* and *popular culture* and caution festival organizers against labeling "non traditional performers who sing 'folk songs'" as folk-singers. Although many folklorists might have problems with these definitions or distinctions, it seems to me that they serve reasonably well as "something to be going on with," as the saying goes, for non-specialists who find themselves confronted with the immediate problem of organizing a festival.

Basic information on administrative matters such as staffing, site selection, finance, legalities, insurance, and contracts open Part One. Suggestions about funding will probably be quickly outdated as federal policies or priorities change and new funding sources appear. The most thoughtful and well considered chapter is on "programming," which for Wilson and Udall means the establishment of a coherent festival program concept, the identification of potential participants and, above all, the need to work with invited participants sensitively and intelligently so that the festival in retrospect will have been a positive experience for all concerned, and one worth repeating.

Means of publicity are given careful attention. Logistical problems such as transportation, housing, and food are briefly discussed. The final chapter of Part One concerns problems and procedures during the course of the festival, such as site preparation, sound systems, documentation, concessions, and stage management.

Wilson and Udall recommend procedures to ease the organization of annual festivals by encouraging the return of previously trained volunteers in the organizing team, and holding festival recap meetings soon after the close to review problems so that they will not recur.

Part Two contains material discussing several different festivals as examples, the transcription of a conversation with several performers giving their point of view on folk festivals, and finally a section entitled "Samples of Festival Communication." This consists of nearly ninety pages of reproduced correspondence, contracts, forms, and publicity materials that were sent out in the course of one festival. Whether nearly one-third of a rather expensive volume should have been devoted to this sort of archive is an interesting question, which will be answered as the book is used. The volume ends with an extremely brief bibliography on folklore in America compiled by Charles L. Perdue, Jr.

--Teri Brewer

University of California, Los Angeles

JOHN HENRY: A BIO-BIBLIOGRAPHY, by Brett Williams (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1983). xii + 175 pp., photos., \$29.95 clothcovers.

The subtitle "Bio-Bibliography" suggests somewhat less than this book is. It is indeed a biography in a very loose sense (a strict biography of a man who may not have existed could not be very substantial), and an extensive bibliography (and discography) as well. But its chief contribution to contemporary scholarship is Williams's insightful discussions on the myth of John Henry and the role of that myth in twentieth-century American society--both black and white. That the role of the figure of John Henry in white culture is greatly different from the role in black American culture is suggested by the vast difference in the number of recordings of the ballad by black and by white artists--especially in recent years.

The opening chapter, "John Henry: A Life," is less an orthodox biography than a reconstruction of what John Henry's life must have been like and what the society was like in which he would have grown up. As Williams states in her preface, "I am concerned here with heroic possibilities: could a man in John Henry's circumstances have seized the moment celebrated so vividly in song?" The second chapter, the book's longest, retraces the trail of the scholars--in particular Guy Johnson and Louis Chappell--who, in the 1920s and later, sought to establish the identity of the ballad hero. (I was disappointed [but not really surprised] that Williams has nothing new to say on the subject of the bitter dispute between Chappell and Johnson, in which the former scholar accused the latter of plagiarizing without acknowledgement from some of his own then-unpublished material on John Henry. This fascinating story of intradisciplinary squabbling has never been resolved; I wonder if there is still any documentation [or witnesses] that could lay the matter to rest.) Salient comments of interviewees are summarized, and the distinctive contributions of the various scholars and authors who tried to track down the story to its source are recapitulated. The next chapter focuses on John Henry songlore, treating successively the early folksong collectors's findings, secondary song collections, personal collections (i.e., of individual singers), folksong anthologies, and sheet music.

Chapter Four, "Analyzing the John Henry Tradition," is an excellent summary of what other scholars have had to say about John Henry--not so much his historicity, but his role in American culture. The fifth chapter, "Tributes to John Henry in Literature and Art," moves away from songlore to other forms of presentation: folktales, popular fiction, tall tale anthologies, programs designed for school children, and artists's tributes. Chapter Six is Williams's most important contribution to the subject, in which she offers her own insights into the heroic appeal of John Henry. Why was

his appeal once so universal? Williams sees part of the answer in the "sparseness of John Henry's story [which] allows him to embody each individual's vision of railroading and of humanity." Williams's answer to why "John Henry" is sung almost exclusively by white singers now is also convincing. Once a respected and admired heroic figure to black Americans, he offered a less positive image as blacks migrated to the cities and urbanized. His opposition to the machine was a stance much appreciated when early movements toward industrialization inevitably meant immediate job displacement. But when economics forced urban blacks to join the work force alongside whites, and when rural roots were more of an embarrassment than a source of pride, the conflict against the steam drill lost its virtue. At the same time, the name "John Henry," once a popular name among blacks, dwindled in popularity, a trend to which the author, whose husband and son both are named John Henry, must be acutely sensitive.

The last two chapters are strictly bibliographical in the broader sense. Chapter Seven is a checklist of printed and filmed references to John Henry, either in song or in other media. It is followed by an extensive discography of recordings. While the discography relies very heavily on that in *Long Steel Rail: The Railroad in American Folksong*, the bibliography includes many citations missed in that work. The book's only nontrivial weakness is in the discography: the format does not allow the reader to deduce which record citations are different publications of the same recording and which are not. It is also the only section of the book with a noticeable number of typographic errors. Nevertheless, it is gratifying to see discography becoming a tool in the hands of researchers alongside more traditional forms of bibliography.

Finally, in discussing a book whose subject is a myth of protest against expanding technology, I feel obliged to raise a voice in protest against the excessive cost of more recent technology. If the publisher's high price is in anticipation of restricted sales, it will be a self-fulfilling prophecy. (Not even the infant John Henry's prophecy could have been so effectively self-fulfilling.) This book's price per page is more than double that of most other books on folk music and culture that have crossed my desk in recent months. In protest against this development I too expect to die vainly, with pen, at least figuratively, in hand.

--Norm Cohen

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The purpose of the JEMFQ is to further the serious study and public recognition of those forms of American traditional music disseminated by commercial media such as print, sound recordings, films, radio, and television. These forms include the music referred to as *cowboy, western, country and western, old time, hillbilly, bluegrass, mountain, country, cajun, sacred, gospel, race, blues, rhythm and blues, jazz, soul, folk rock, rock and roll, and ethnic-American*.

The Forum works toward this goal by compiling, publishing, and distributing bibliographical, discographical, and historical data; reprinting, with permission, pertinent articles originally appearing in books and journals; and reissuing historically significant out-of-print sound recordings

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LETTERS

Dear Editor:

Serious country music people should give a listen to radio station WWL New Orleans, Louisiana, 870 kcs AM, any night 11:00 p.m. to 5:00 a.m., for good programming. The Dave Nemo Road Gang, from 1:00 a.m. to 5:00 a.m. programs old recordings along with the new. I'm talking about Carson Robison, Jimmie Rodgers, Jimmie Davis, The Carter Family, Delmore Brothers, and all the others. (Times are Central)

--Gerald D. Cox
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Editor:

Cooper, Hoffmann & Schurk's "Hot 100" of popular music periodicals (JEMFQ 68/69) was an improvement, bibliographically, on that terrible booklist the JEMFQ published a few years ago--but not nearly enough of an improvement, considering the simplicity of the undertaking.

Firstly, what was it about? Popular music, as in its title--or "rock journalism" (paragraph 4)? I can only conclude from such entries as no. 99. *Storyville*, a fine but traditionalist jazz magazine from England, that what CH&S are shooting at is popular music in a very broad sense.

Fine. So where is *Jazz Monthly* (1955-71, subsequently *Jazz & Blues* (1971-73), subsequently amalgamated with *Jazz Journal*)? *JM* was a leading British jazz magazine of the fifties and sixties which not only published some of the first and best blues writing but also gave a reputable home to one of the earliest serious appreciations of Bob Dylan. Similarly, in the field of country music, if a place is to be found (54) for *Country Music Review* (which, by the way, no longer exists: it became *Country Music World* about 1981, then *Music World*, and may now be something else again), then one should be offered also to *Country Music People* (1970-Present, formerly *Opry* [1968-70]), an altogether more comprehensive journal.

Where too are the British *Cream* (1971-73) and *Swing 51* and *Traditional Music* (now succeeded by *Musical Traditions*), or the American *Pickin'* (1974-79) and *Folkscene* (1973-82)? Or--and this is a bad slip by CH&S--the British *Let It Rock*

(1972-76), one of the first serious journals on the subject? I won't instance some of the excellent popular music magazines issuing from Italy, Japan, France, Germany, and so forth, since I'm prepared to assume that CH&S were confining themselves to English-language periodicals, though they neglect saying so.

Characteristically--for these are people who regard Dean Tudor's energetic but dreadfully careless compilations as "monumental"--they also include a great deal of information that is badly, even ludicrously out-of-date. Nick Logan has not edited 6. *New Musical Express* for some years, though he did go on to create the best-selling music magazine in Britain, *Smash Hits* (unlisted by CH&S) and then that superb guide to contemporary music, fashion, and much else, *The Face* (1980-Present, also unlisted). Mike Leadbitter has not edited 12. *Blues Unlimited* since his death in 1974, and his partner Simon Napier had retired from editorship a year beforehand. A collective has run *BU*, from a new address, since 1975. 1971 is too late a starting date for 39. *Zig Zag*; 1969 would be better. 48. *Blues World* ceased publication not in 1973 but in 1974. 61. *Folk Review* perished in 1979, and its editor was Fred Woods (not Wood). 69. *Jazz Journal International* only acquired the *International* in May 1977. Editor Sinclair Traill died in 1981, having already ceded place two years earlier to Nevil Skrimshire, in turn succeeded by Eddie Cook. 126. *Talking Blues* died in 1979. I could go on in this vein for some time, but I had only half an hour or so to spare.

--Tony Russell, Editor
Old Time Music (unlisted)
London, England

Dear Editor:

I hope that someday Tony Russell will find more than thirty minutes of free time so he can develop his own bibliography of music magazines. His knowledge of the evolution of contemporary periodicals, of the kaleidoscopic shifts of editors, and of the range of musical styles covered in each journal is marvelous. Of course, I suspect that upon publication someone may choose to quarrel with his final choices, too. He may even discover that there are a few fine publications

which escaped his research scan, a few editors who have ceased to direct publications without his notice, and a few initiation/termination dates for small circulation music publications which are openly debatable.

Speaking on behalf of Cooper/Hoffmann/Schurk, I should note that the process of assembling our "Hot 100" periodical listing was a labor of literary love--and friendly debate. Subjectivity is freely admitted (p. 33) in our essay, along with the notion that our final listings constitute an effort of political compromise. Errors in such broad timespan bibliographic efforts are inevitable. The process of correcting and thus improving this or any bibliography is always expected. Our desire was not to produce the definitive statement on popular music (Yes, we tend to favor rock over both jazz and old time music) periodicals, but to generate more serious examinations of and more publications about music-related journals. Our admiration for the work of Dean Tudor is well founded; similar respect for David D.

Ginsburg, Gary Sperrazza, Robert Pruter, and others who have attempted to demonstrate the historical value of a type of periodical snubbed by most scholars is richly deserved.

JEMF Quarterly is a wonderful, diverse marketplace for musical-related ideas. If the Journal wishes to present "Tony Russell's All-Time Favorite Music Magazines, 1950-1982," I would delight in seeing this article in print. If he wishes to provide C/H/S with handwritten corrections or additions to our *JEMF Quarterly* article, that's fine, too. But I regard his October 21st letter to be less than collegial, strongly paternalistic, strangely hostile, and uncommonly rude. Perhaps that's how he handles correspondence for *Old Time Music*. If it is, I understand more clearly why his magazine is (in terms of both influence and popularity) "unlisted."

--B. Lee Cooper
Newberry College
Newberry, South Carolina





Swannanoa Hotel (L) with balcony, facing Eagle Hotel on extreme right. (Joan and Wright Langley, *Yesterday's Asheville* [Miami: E.A. Seeman, 1975])



Black banjo player in Asheville. *Harper's Weekly*, 28 September 1867. (Joan and Wright Langley, *Yesterday's Asheville* [Miami: E.A. Seeman, 1975])

CHARLES DUDLEY WARNER AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN THE
SOUTHERN MOUNTAINS: NOTE ON A SERENDIPITOUS DISCOVERY

by

DAVID E. WHISNANT

[David E. Whisnant is a native of Asheville, North Carolina. He is presently Professor of American Studies at the University of Maryland Baltimore County. He has published extensively on the social and cultural history of the Appalachian region. His most recent book, *All That Is Native and Fine: The Politics of Culture in an American Region*, has just been published by the University of North Carolina Press.

During the mid-summer of 1884, Connecticut newspaperman Charles Dudley Warner took a horseback tour through a portion of the southern mountains. Like many other travelers of the period, Warner fashioned a popular book from his observations of mountain scenes and people. *On Horseback: A Tour in Virginia, Tennessee, and North Carolina* was serialized in the *Atlantic Monthly* and published in book form in 1888. It found a readership whose appetite for travel books describing the American social and cultural scene had been reliable at least since Frances Trollope's *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832), Charles Dickens's *American Notes* (1842), and Frederick Law Olmstead's three volumes of southern travel narratives which appeared on the eve of the Civil War.

Charles Dudley Warner became one of the more skillful practitioners of the form. Born in Plainfield, Massachusetts, in 1829, he attended Hamilton College and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania law school in 1858. After two years of law practice in Chicago, he became associate editor and publisher of the Hartford, Connecticut, *Evening Press*. A decade later he began to publish the first of his travel narratives, miscellaneous essays, and novels. Having gained some literary fame through his collaboration with Mark Twain on *The Gilded Age* (1873), he produced four travel books in quick succession: *My Winter on the Nile* (1876), *In the Levant* (1877), *In the Wilderness* (1878), and *A Roundabout Journey* (1883).

Attuned as he was to the literary marketplace, Warner no doubt knew the times were right for a southern mountain travel book. As timber and coal buyers, land developers, and tourism promoters trooped into the "southern highlands" (as they were called at the time), wrenching social and cultural dislocation followed, and a curious public eagerly awaited each picturesque account of the "strange land and peculiar people" such entrepreneurs were finding in the mountains. As Henry Shapiro and others have pointed out, *Harper's Monthly*, *Century*, *Atlantic Monthly*, *Scribner's*, and other genteel magazines of the period printed page after page of colorful copy on "our southern highlanders."¹

Indeed, in his earlier *Gilded Age* collaboration with Mark Twain, Warner had already

capitalized upon popular enthusiasm for colorful stereotypes of southern mountaineers. The novel opens at the ramshackle home of "Squire" Hawkins in Obedstown, east Tennessee. Hawkins and his neighbors wear homespun jeans held up by a single suspender, chew tobacco and spit the juice with an accuracy born of long practice, smoke corncob pipes, and sit idly on a split-rail fence "hump-shouldered and grave, like a company of buzzards assembled for supper." One of their number solemnly contemplates whether the rumored arrival of the circuit judge is imminent enough to justify removing his "prime sow and pigs" from the "cotehouse."² Elsewhere in the novel, Twain and Warner satirized the greed, visionary impracticality, political corruption, and social cynicism that were making a few men rich and pauperizing the rest of the country--for which Obedstown stands as a somewhat muted metaphor.

But how did Warner perceive and describe real mountaineers and real mountain towns in the midst of the Gilded Age--especially those towns and small cities that were communications/travel hubs and staging grounds for so many of the entrepreneurial schemes that were afoot?³

Clad in flannel shirts and leather leggings, Warner and his companion left Abingdon, Virginia ("a town of ancient respectability...that still preserves the flavor of excellent tobacco and something of the easygoing habits of the days of slavery"), on 22 July 1884, headed south along the Holston River.⁴ Stopping at the few hostleries the country afforded (Ramsey's, Egger's), most of which he found rather primitive, Warner pushed on across Cut Laurel Gap into North Carolina at Creston Post Office, passing the "mean shanties" of people who looked to him "miserably poor," and whose small farms were badly eroded.

Moving further south, Warner encountered a series of dramatic contrasts between small farms and sleepy villages on the one hand, and rapid social change on the other. Passing through Boone ("a God-forsaken place") he came to Cranberry Forge, where he found "a big company store, rows of tenement houses, heaps of slag and refuse ore, interlacing tracks, raw embankments, denuded hillsides, and a blackened landscape [as] signs of a great devastating American enterprise" (42). Another week's travel found him at Roan Station on the Doe River, where he lingered a few days at a pleasant hotel frequented by

dilettante botanists. From there he moved on to Bakersville in Mitchell County, the center of a spreading speculative fever sparked by the mica mining industry. "Mica was the rage," Warner noted. Everyone had "the mineral fever" (75f.), and there were signs that the grandiose, style-setting speculative gestures of the robber barons were not entirely unknown among supposedly isolated mountaineers. Outside Burnsville, Warner listened to a local man tell wonderingly of the vault in Vanderbilt's house ("five feet thick, solid"), the gold shutters at its windows, and a door that cost forty-thousand dollars (78f.).

Deciding against the usual Burnsville-to-Asheville route which led through Big Ivy in Madison County, Warner turned southeast across Mt. Mitchell and approached Asheville--which he called "the most considerable city in western North Carolina, a resort of fashion"--through the Swannanoa Valley.

The Asheville Warner found had been a prominent resort area since the Buncombe turnpike opened in the late 1820s. Recently connected to the rapidly industrializing Piedmont by a railroad (the eighteen-hundred foot Swannanoa tunnel had been completed in 1879 at a cost of 120 lives), Asheville had had telegraph lines for a decade and telephones for a couple of years. As a focal point for much of the speculation, boosterism, and frenzied social change that was coming to the more urbanized parts of the mountains, Asheville was on the verge of the first of a series of real estate booms. In the four years prior to Warner's visit, the city's population had almost doubled (to nearly 5,000). Major entrepreneurs from the northeast and mid-west such as E. W. Grove and George Vanderbilt soon were to come, buy, and build on a grand scale. Already the grandiose Battery Park Hotel was under construction.

Warner's initial impression of Asheville--gained upon his approach across lofty Beaucatcher Hill--was almost idyllic. "The sunset light was falling upon the splendid panorama and softening it," he wrote. "The windows of the town gleamed as if on fire." But closer inspection revealed that the idyll was not perfect. "There was a kind of predetermined and willful gayety about Asheville...that is apt to be present at a watering place," Warner noticed, "and [it] gave to it the melancholy tone that is always present in gay places. We fancied that the lively movement in the streets had an air of unreality."

Warner's account of his stay in Asheville, though somewhat brief, is rather detailed in some respects. He describes several events which, taken together, reveal some of the social and cultural dynamics (and self-consciousness) of a developing mountain city in the mid-1880s: a Presbyterian ladies's fund-raising garden party (decorated with Chinese lanterns), a minstrel-like performance on the Square by Happy John and Mary (advertised as former slaves of Wade Hampton), and a raucous political meeting at the court-

house (115ff.). Most important for my purpose here is his account of a musical serenade from a hotel balcony:

A band of musicians on the balcony of the Swannanoa [Hotel] were scraping and tooting and twanging with a hired air, and on the opposite balcony of the Eagle [Hotel] a rival band echoed and redoubled the perfunctory joyousness....As evening came on, the streets, though wanting gas, were still more animated; the shops were open, some very good ones....In the hotels dancing was promised, [and] the German was announced (113f.).

Was the "predetermined and willful gayety" Warner thought he saw really there, or was it to some extent conjured up by a northern observer unfamiliar with local culture and preoccupied with the garish social distortions of the Gilded Age to be observed in other parts of the country? Who were the musicians? Were they the cultural parents or grandparents of the supposedly untutored "hillbilly" musicians to be marketed nationally by the radio and recording industries more than thirty years later?

In a recent analysis of the role of monthly magazine writers in projecting stereotyped images of the mountains and mountain people, scholar Henry Shapiro mentions Warner but does not attempt to test his reliability as a reporter. Cratis D. Williams's earlier study of the relationship between the factual realities of mountain life and fictional representations of them called *On Horseback* a "tired and padded" narrative in which Warner displayed "little sympathy for mountain people," but which was "no doubt based upon factual knowledge."⁵

How much of Warner's entire narrative is based upon factual knowledge--and how faithfully it presents those facts--is of course impossible to determine at this late date. But a fortunate bit of serendipity has allowed me to evaluate a few items.

About two years ago I was searching through some Buncombe County court documents at the North Carolina State Archives in Raleigh, looking for information on a subject wholly unrelated to Warner. Having recently re-read his account of his visit to Asheville, however, my eye fell upon a folder labeled "Swannanoa Hotel," and I recalled his image of the little balcony serenade. Virtually the only items in the folder were two nearly identical documents--one neatly penned on plain paper and the other scrawled rather hastily on a Swannanoa Hotel printed letterhead. The document on the letterhead read as follows:

Memorandum of agreement between Rawls Brothers Proprietors of the Swannanoa Hotel, Asheville, N.C. and Giovanna D. Stefano, Musician, of Philadelphia Penn--The said Stefano agrees to furnish

Said Rawls Brothers an orchestra of four instruments, to wit: One first and one second violin, a flute and a harp to play for said Rawls Brothers from the 1st day of July until the last day of September 1884. The orchestra is to be composed of first class sober musicians and they are to play from 9 to 9:30 o'clock, from 1:30 to 2 o'clock and from 6:30 to 7 o'clock--and on Tuesday and Friday morning from 11 to 1 o'clock for Germans and at night from 9 to 12 o'clock when desired. For all outside work said Rawls Brothers are to receive one half of the proceeds. Rawls Brothers agree to furnish board and lodging to said musicians and pay them (40) forty dollars each per month and their Railroad fare from Philadelphia to Asheville. Said payments for services to be made at the expiration of services. Said Orchestra is to remain until the 10th of September if desired by the parties of the first part at the rate above mentioned.

G. D. Stefano

The other document in the folder was a contract for the following year, identical to the first except that it called for only one violin in addition to flute and harp.⁶

The band called for in the 1884 contract would appear to be the one Warner heard on the balcony of the Swannanoa Hotel. The dates given in the contract include the period of Warner's visit to Asheville; the "Germans" he speaks of in *On Horseback* are a feature of the contract; and even his "scraping and tooting and twanging" characterization of the musicians correlates exactly with the violins, flute, and harp Giovanne D. Stefano contracted to bring to Asheville.

Excited by finding the Stefano-Swannanoa Hotel contract, and intrigued by discovering how reliable a reporter Warner was at least in this one instance, I wondered if other details might be corroborated. Luckily, the manuscript diary of Warner's trip to the mountains survives. In his cramped and nearly indecipherable hand, Warner penned the following notes on the hotel serenade:

Swannanoa hotel, ice water, barbers, civilization. Large hotel [with balcony?]. Eagle House opposite--band on the balcony of each, tooting away, Saratoga fashion. [Town?] very lively, streets full of people, darkies, carriages, [pony?] carts, a mixture of [scant?] civilization and _____. A general festive and holiday air, very [amusing?] and familiar. The abandon of the South and the wealth of the North. The streets more animated, black and white, as evening came on--shops open and [some?] very [good ones?].⁷

Succeeding passages in the journal are similarly close to corresponding passages in *On Horseback*. No major reconstruction or fictionalization appears to have occurred between the journal and the formal narrative. But how reliable is the journal itself?

Contemporary photographs suggest that Warner's descriptions of the buildings and streets are quite reliable. The Swannanoa and Eagle hotels sat opposite each other on South Main Street (now Biltmore Avenue), south of the Square below the corner of Eagle Street, which led to the town's main black residential and business section.⁸ The area in front of the hotels thus no doubt presented exactly the lively intermingling of black and white street life Warner reported. Moreover, as a reader wrote to the *Asheville Citizen-Times* in the late 1940s, the Swannanoa and Eagle hotels together constituted one of the main centers of social life in the mountains in the summer south of White Sulphur Springs, and were in strong competition with each other. Presumably a band on one balcony called for a band on the other.⁹

Finally, can one discover who Giovanne D. Stefano was, and what kind of music his hired band was scraping, tooting, and twanging on the Swannanoa Hotel balcony that summer of 1884?

Philadelphia was not a major center for immigration at the end of the nineteenth century. Compared to other cities, it had a relatively small immigrant population (never greater than 27% in a period when some cities had as high as 48%), and Italian immigrants in particular had been rather late in arriving. Although the first Italian Catholic church in the United States--St. Mary Magdalene de Pazzi--had been built there in 1851, the Italian population was only 0.28% of the total in 1870, and was still less than 3% two decades later. Italian immigrants concentrated for the most part in south Philadelphia, on both sides of Broad Street below Market. Census figures show that most found jobs as construction or maintenance workers, but a substantial number became vendors and shopkeepers, barbers and shoemakers, waiters, and musicians.¹⁰

Gopsill's *Philadelphia City Directory* for 1884 (the year of Warner's journal entry) lists "John De Stefano, musician" as living at 804 S. 8th Street. Two years later "Giovanne D. Stefano, musician" appears at the same address, with the parenthetical designation "(Milano & Stefano)." Milano would appear to be Joseph Milano, who is listed at the same address in a separate entry. In its list of working musicians, Boyd's *Philadelphia Business Directory* for 1884 includes Michael D. Stefano, who lived at 941 South 8th Street, a block away from Giovanne. The following year, Boyd's directory included the "Stefano Brothers" of 804 South 8th Street in the same list. Thus it seems reasonable to conjecture that the band that played on the Swannanoa Hotel balcony may have consisted of Giovanne

WANNANOA HOTEL

ASHEVILLE, N.C.



LEON HOTEL
TALLAHASSEE, FLA.
DR. W. H. LOWERY, PROPRIETOR



THE LEON

WANNANOA HOTEL
TALLAHASSEE, FLA.

Asheville, N.C., 1888

Memorandum of agreement between
Ransom M. Allen, Proprietor of the
WannanOA Hotel, Asheville, N.C.,
and Giovanni S. Stephens, Musician,
of Philadelphia, Pa. The said
Stephens agrees to furnish said Ransom
with an Orchestra of four instru-
ments, 3 violins, one French horn, one
trumpet, a flute and a bass to
play for said Ransom's Orchestra.
The 1st day of July until the 1st
day of October in 1888. The said
Ransom to be paid of four shes
to the musicians and they are
to play from 9 to 9.30 O'clock,
from 1.30 to 2 O'clock and from
6.30 to 7 O'clock, and on
Tuesday and Friday evenings
from 11 to 1 O'clock for Ransom.

and at night from 9 to 12 O'clock
when desired. For all outside work
said Ransom's Brother is to receive
one half of the proceeds. Ransom's
Brother agrees to furnish board
and lodging to said Musicians,
and pay them (the) forty dollars,
each per month and their
Railroad fares from Phila-
delphia to Asheville. Said payments
to be made at the expiration
of each month and the Railroad
fare at the expiration of
three months. Said Orchestra
is to remain until the 1st
of September if deemed by the
Proprietor of the WannanOA Hotel
to be above mentioned.

G. S. Stephens

Stefano, his brother Michael, Joseph Milano, and one other musician, all residents of the South 8th Street area of south Philadelphia.¹¹

Indeed, enough other musicians were also listed as living within several blocks of the Stefanos on South 8th Street to constitute a small community of working musicians, most of them German or Italian immigrants: John Tuscan and Franz Pascal at 1003, Samuel Strang at 932, the Stefanos at 804, Samuel Bridenbach at 739, and Simon and Mark Hassler at 214. Some of the musicians may have been especially drawn to Philadelphia's extraordinarily active musical life. As American music historian Gilbert Chase points out, in the post-Revolutionary period Philadelphia became the young republic's "chief center of musical activity." The Musical Fund Society--probably the oldest such society in the United States in continuous existence--was founded there in 1820, and the country's finest opera house (the American Academy of Music) opened in the city in 1857. By the late 1880s both the Chestnut Street Opera House and the Grand Opera House were presenting regular operatic performances, including those by the Italian opera companies that Lorenzo da Ponte was bringing to the city.¹²

Thus whatever else the little musical episode reported by Warner may signify, it demonstrates once again that the southern mountains were by no means as untouched by outside cultural influences as they have customarily been assumed to be. For a full thirty years before collector Cecil Sharp was so delighted to find uncorrupted singers of ancient English ballads in the hills around Asheville, one could wander down South Main Street on a summer evening and hear music that no doubt would have sounded completely familiar to audiences in the opera houses of Philadelphia.

Like other cities in the mountains, Asheville was clearly a center of interaction with "flatland" culture. Like cities beyond the mountains, it served as a multicultural receiver, filter, and transmitter of a variety of cultural materials. What Charles Dudley Warner heard and saw on that summer evening, after all, was a band of Italian musicians playing Italian and German dance music to a street full of urban and rural mountain whites and blacks--and salesmen and tourists from everywhere.

The wonder, finally, is that with two imported bands blaring at them stereophonically from two style-setting hotel balconies, mountain people (black and white) could go on for decades making their own music--not as they had "always" made it (they hadn't "always" made it in any unchanging way), but as sensitive, creative people make it: out of a valued received tradition continuously accommodated to and reinterpreted within a dynamic present.

Had mountain people not understood and valued tradition, there would have been no ballad singers left for Cecil Sharp--or for Bascom Lamar Lunsford's first Mountain Dance and Folk Festival more than forty years after Warner stood on South Main Street and listened to Giovanne D. Stefano.¹³ But had mountain people not also been open to new musical influences, ideas, and styles, neither would there have been banjo pickers, yodelers, guitar players, harmonica players, or string bands.

Whatever else it may be, mountain music is a product of the persistent creative recombination of initially heterogeneous musical materials and styles. Charles Dudley Warner saw an early example of that process as he wandered from lantern-lit lawn party to minstrel skit to hotel balcony serenade.

--University of Maryland Baltimore County
Catonsville, MD

NOTES

1. For a survey of the treatment of mountaineers in the monthly magazines, see Henry D. Shapiro, *Appalachia On Our Mind: The Southern Mountains and Mountaineers in the American Consciousness, 1870-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978). Cratis D. Williams surveys southern mountain travel narratives in "The Southern Mountaineer in Fact and Fiction" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1961), pp. 178-302.
2. Mark Twain and Charles Dudley Warner, *The Gilded Age: A Tale of Today* (1873; rpt. New York: New American Library, 1969), p. 23-25.
3. For the story of one speculative boom town in the mountains (Middlesboro, Kentucky, "the Magic City of the South") in the late 1880s, see John Gaventa, *Power and Powerlessness: Quiescence and Rebellion in an Appalachian Valley* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1980), pp. 47ff.
4. Charles Dudley Warner, *On Horseback: A Tour in Virginia, Tennessee and North Carolina* (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1888), p. 82. Subsequent page numbers in parentheses.
5. Shapiro, *Appalachia On Our Mind*, p. 6; Williams, "Southern Mountaineer," p. 283. In *Appalachian Journal*, 4 (Autumn, 1976), 34-38, John B. Stephenson commented insightfully upon Warner's 1889 *Harper's Magazine* reflections on his subsequent trip to eastern Kentucky, but did not attempt to test the accuracy of his reporting.

6. Buncombe County Miscellaneous Records, 1786-1946; North Carolina State Archives. The hotel letterhead is actually an overprint of an earlier letterhead for two hotels: the Leon in Tallahassee, Florida, and the Swannanoa, both owned by Dr. William H. Howerton. "Swannanoa Hotel" is printed in large letters above the original letterhead, and the name and picture of the Leon Hotel are crossed out. A new type face specifies that the Swannanoa is owned by the "Rawls Brothers."
7. Charles Dudley Warner, manuscript journal, entry for 5 August 1884; Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut. I am grateful to curator Margaret Sax for generous assistance with the Warner materials.
8. Joan and Wright Langley, *Yesterday's Asheville* (Miami: E.A. Seeman Publishing, 1975), p. 50.
9. Letter from Edwin G. Seibels to *Citizen-Times*, 8 February 1948, p. B-6. Seibels was speaking from his personal experience of having visited Asheville regularly since 1885. I am grateful to *Citizen-Times* librarian Lucille Hearn for supplying this item. According to another item in the *Citizen-Times* (2 December 1936), writers Bill Nye and James Whitcomb Riley also stayed at the Swannanoa.
10. Caroline Golab, "The Immigrant and the City: Poles, Italians, and Jews in Philadelphia, 1879-1920," and Richard A. Varbero, "Philadelphia's South Italians in the 1920s," both in Allen F. Davis and Mark H. Haller (eds.), *The Peoples of Philadelphia: A History of Ethnic Groups and Lower-Class Life, 1790-1940* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973), pp. 203-230 and 255-275, respectively.
11. *Philadelphia City Directory* (Philadelphia: James Gopsill, 1884), pp. 424, 464; 1886, pp. 1209, 1647. *Boyd's Philadelphia Business Directory* (Philadelphia: Central News Co., 1884), p. 653; 1885, pp. 679f.
12. Gilbert Chase, *America's Music: From the Pilgrims to the Present* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), p. 109; and *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 14:621ff.
13. See David E. Whisnant, "Finding the Way Between the Old and the New: The Mountain Dance and Folk Festival and Bascom Lamar Lunsford's Work as a Citizen," *Appalachian Journal* 7 (Autumn-Winter 1979-80): 135-54.



Built on Old Stony Hill (renamed Battery Porter during the Civil War), the Battery Park Hotel opened in 1886. It was 475 feet long, with broad porches running its length, elevators, hot and cold running water, ballrooms and gamerooms of all descriptions--and windows too numerous to count. Its grounds spread over twenty-five acres. (Joan and Wright Langley, *Yesterday's Asheville* [Miami: E.A. Seeman, 1975]).

Memorandum of Agreement between Rawls Bros. Proprietors of the Swannanoa Hotel, Asheville N.C. and Giovanni D. Stefano a musician of Philadelphia Penn. The said Stefano agrees to furnish said Rawls Bros. an Orchestra of three instruments, to wit a violin, flute and harp to play for said Rawls Bros. from the first day of July until the first day of September 1885. The said Orchestra is to be composed of first class sober musicians, and they are to play from 9 to 9.30 A. M. from 1.30 to 2 P.M. and from 6.30 to 7 P.M. every day and on Tuesdays & Friday Mornings from 11 to 1 o'clock for Germans and every night from 9 to 12 o'clock when desired for all outside work said Rawls Bros. are to receive half the proceeds.

Rawls Bros. agree to furnish board and lodging to said musicians and pay them (40) forty dollars each per month and their rail road fare from Philadelphia to Asheville said payments for services to be made at the expiration of each month and the rail road fare at the expiration of term of services said Orchestra is to remain until the 10th day of September if desired by the parties of the first part of the rates above mentioned.

G. D. Stefano.

"MAMA, WHERE YOU AT?" THE CHRONICLE OF MAIUS LAFLEUR

by

Donald Lee Nelson

[Donald Lee Nelson is an avid record collector, beginning this enterprise eighteen years ago. With a particular interest in the lore and history of the Southern Highlander, Nelson makes yearly trips to Appalachia and/or the Southern region of the U.S. to interview those people and collect their music, particularly event ballads and the data on the many feuds which once took place in that region. He has written many articles based on the data he has collected on these trips.]

[During the first quarter of the eighteenth century a combination of religious and political differences in what is now Nova Scotia led to the violent and cruel expulsion of numerous citizens from the area. Many of these French-speaking people, who were called "Arcadians" (later slurred into "Acadians") trekked by ship down the Atlantic in search of a land conducive to their way of life. The majority of these disenfranchised folk somehow located in the bayous of southern and central Louisiana. They settled in this remote area, and for over two hundred fifty years have preserved their heritage with a ferocity of purpose which evokes the admiration of all who encounter them. Even their music is unique in the most definitive sense. Haunting and melodic, it combines a preponderance of the old French with smatterings of hillbilly, blues, and even Mexican influences. Definitely a part of the early-day music syndrome, it, like its people, takes the name "Cajun."]

Although it has been said that there are probably more anthropologists in Southern Louisiana than anywhere else on earth, the lack of biographies of many of the early day musicians from this area is very noticeable. It is, therefore, the intention of the JEMF Quarterly to do a series of articles dealing with these pioneer performers over the next several issues.]

"Misfortune nursed me as her child
And loved me fondly too..."

When Sara Carter recorded this plaintive sentiment in 1936, Maius LaFleur, a man whom she'd probably never heard of, had been dead for nearly eight years. The two lines, however, seem to graphically sum up the sadness which was his life, perhaps better than any similar verse ever written.

Maius was born 14 August 1906 at Mamou, a town in what is now Evangeline Parish, in the very heart of Cajun Louisiana. His parents, Henry and Zola (Borque) LaFleur were farm people. In February 1907 Zola LaFleur left her husband and infant son; Maius was never to see his mother again.

Henry, barely nineteen at the time, could not care for the baby, and brought him on horseback to his widowed mother, Marie Elvena Manuel LaFleur, who lived near Ville Platte. It was she who raised Maius. In 1912 Henry married Dina Soileau, but his son preferred to remain with his grandmother, who herself had remarried. Her new husband was John Vidrine, a local farmer.

Their home to this day remains in the Vidrine family.

Henry was an accomplished accordion player, and well known locally. It is doubtful, however, that it was he who taught Maius the instrument, as they were seldom together.

One of Maius's closest boyhood friends was a distant relative and violin enthusiast, Leo Soileau. Although the two may have played some music together as youngsters, there is little to show that their career partnership was formed at an early age. Both lived in a little village three or so miles south of Ville Platte called La Sopi.

Like most boys in an agrarian community, Maius spent his youth working at odd jobs, most of which were farm-related. His music was becoming an avocation, and a good singing voice added impetus to this interest. By his mid to late teens he was being asked to perform at a number of house parties.

Physically he had grown to a full six feet in height, had green eyes, a dark complexion, and was well built and handsome, with the wide mouth

which characterized the LaFleur family. Maius was shy around strangers, but friendly and fiercely loyal to those whom he knew.

Sometime during this period in his life he met Hazel Brunet, a young lady from Mamou, who was three years his junior. The two fell in love, but encountered objections from her parents, who felt Maius would not be a suitable husband. In rural Louisiana, as in most places at that time, musicians were not highly rated as prospective sons-in-law. The itinerant lifestyle such a profession molded was inconducive to the security parents wanted for their daughters. Maius, deeply troubled, presented the problem to his dad and was simply told, "Take her and marry her." He followed through, and he and Hazie were married on 22 April 1926 by Reverend A. Viel, a Catholic Priest, before two witnesses.

Friend Leo was less able to settle into farming than Maius. He found work as a fiddler at a dance hall in Basille owned by one Maxine Ledoux. Ledoux was a first cousin to Leo's wife, Joyce, and played accordion to Leo's fiddle. Business increased sufficiently to force Ledoux to retire from the stage in order to manage the hall on a full-time basis. Leo asked Maius to replace him. The new accordion-fiddle duet, combined with Maius's superb vocals, brought in even more customers.

In the Evangeline and St. Landry Parish areas the names of Soileau and LaFleur were beginning to be hailed as synonymous with good times, large crowds, and fine music. In addition to their regular job at Ledoux's, they were hired for dances, house parties, and weddings. Most everyone spoke French in the area, and the vast majority of their repertoire was in that language, but Maius always included such hillbilly favorites as "Casey Jones" and "Roving Gambler." Surprisingly with all their popularity they never appeared on radio.

By the mid-twenties the automobile had become the normal mode of travel in most areas of the nation, but not so in central Louisiana. Bad roads and worse maintenance would keep the horse in business for another decade. Most often Maius and Leo transversed the byways of their locale in this fashion.

Despite strong objections about the marriage, Hazie LaFleur's parents, J. M. and Eve (Fontenot) Brunet gave the newlyweds a plot of ground adjacent to their own in Mamou. The couple built a home and commenced housekeeping, and a son was born to them. Everything looked quite promising for the young LaFleurs.

Henry and Dina LaFleur had begun raising a family and Maius often visited. He was good natured and took a kindly interest in his young half-brothers and sisters. Though not apparent at the time, he brooded heavily about his mother. He almost never spoke of her, but subsequent events, examined in retrospect by those who knew him, show a great longing to see her.

The fact that Maius was constantly on the go, performing wherever Leo booked them, added substance to his in-laws objections to him. Finally they told him to leave the home he had built on the property they had given him and his wife. Their infant son had died. He and Hazel then separated. A short time later the house burned down.

In the late summer of 1928 the Victor Recording Company, making a field recording swing through the South and Midwest, advertised for local performers to contact them regarding a session to be held in Atlanta in mid-October. Under the aegis of Frank Deadline, an Opelusas jeweler, Leo made the arrangements, and the second week in October they began the nearly five-hundred-mile journey.

Conceding the impracticability of travel by horse, Leo persuaded his cousin "Cat" Doucette, then Sheriff of St. Landry Parish, to carry them to Georgia in his automobile. Since neither musician had ever been very far from Cajun homeland, it was a trip of great revelation.

Unbelievably, the original recording studio had been set up near the railroad station. Each time an artist began performing a bell would clang, a whistle would scream, or a blast of steam would accompany the screeching of air brakes. Victor engineers saw the fallacy of working under such conditions, and recording ceased until the portable studio could be moved out into an old home in the woods, several miles from town. This fiasco occurred about the ninth of the month.

By the time Leo and Maius arrived, the session was in full swing. Most performers, including Jimmie Rodgers, had been esconsed in a local hotel. The two Louisianans met the famously affable Rodgers, who knew where to secure a supply of moonshine of such high quality and refinement that it would produce even more conviviality; the trio chatted and drank the night away.

The following day, October 19, Maius and Leo were driven to the makeshift studio. The home was the local Ku Klux Klan hall. Years later, Leo recalled robes and artifacts were everywhere.

When it came time to record, both men were extremely nervous and quite without concept of the equipment surrounding them. Since the dancehalls of the 1920s did not have microphones, the single one suspended above their heads had no significance for them. They began their first number with all the gusto and volume of a live performance and almost demolished the recording engineer, his control panel, and his makeshift booth. After several less cacaphonic but still unsatisfactory starts, it became obvious that the duet was too jittery to do their best. It was determined that one of the local citizenry who had been employed to assist the Victor officials should go to the nearest pharmacy and obtain a pint of prescription liquor.

The idea met with success. While awaiting the relaxant, Maius walked out into the yard and discovered a large number of squirrels about. He good-naturedly located some peanuts and whiled away the time feeding the little denizens.

The liquor arrived, and after the dispensing of calming-sized portions, the recording began again. "Basile Waltz," also known as "Grand Basile," was their initial offering. The second piece had been composed by Maius, but never performed by him in public. "Mama, Where You At?" spoke directly to the one person who most filled his thoughts. "The Criminal," which is sometimes called "Criminal Waltz," followed. The final side, another which could only have been authored by Maius, was titled "Your Father Put Me Out." This piece of autobiography is spoken to someone else whom he dearly loved, and, like "Mama," it was performed with a dignity which allowed nothing maudlin to enter either the music, lyrics, or delivery. Even today many people in Southern Louisiana know both songs and the stories behind them, speaking of each with great respect.

Thus Leo and Maius (whom Victor and many others spelled "Mayuse") became the first Cajun duet to record. Joseph Falcon, the initial artist to record in French, had performed "Lafayette" for the Columbia microphones earlier in the year. Proof of the recording companies' belief in the Cajun market is evidenced by the inclusion by them of many such performers in subsequent field recording forays. Victor alone recorded ten different groups in its next two such junkets.

Maius and Leo were each paid \$100.00 for the four songs they recorded. It was then that Maius confided to his partner that with this windfall he hoped to locate his mother, whom he believed lived somewhere between Lafayette and Crowley.

Before going back to Louisiana, the young men went to see "The Jazz Singer." The Al Jolson movie had been playing for about a year when they saw it. Such a tremendous impression was created that either man would discuss it with great enthusiasm at any opportunity.

After returning to Ville Platte the two musicians took up where they had left off, both at Ledoux's and with any side jobs. On Sunday evening, October 28, some nine days after their recording session, Leo and Maius played a house party in Basille. Afterwards they stopped at the home of a friend, Alexander Bellon. The Bellon house was supposedly a "Blind Tiger," and the two men were relaxing with a drink of moonshine when tragedy descended.

Earlier in the day two brothers from the town of Jennings, Aurelian and Clarence Crochet, had gone to see Bellon, supposedly to peddle five gallons of illegal whiskey. For whatever reason, their pick-up truck went out of control and struck Bellon's porch, doing considerable

damage. The homeowner demanded immediate reparation in the amount of ten dollars. Aurelian Crochet said he had only seven dollars, offering it to Bellon, who roughly refused it. He told the two men they could not remove their truck until he was paid in full. When Clarence Crochet attempted to get to the truck, Bellon struck him forcefully, allowing him to see his pistol in the process.

The brothers departed and went to the home of a friend, Kossuth Manuel, whom they asked to intercede on their behalf. Manuel, a large blond man in his mid-forties, was well known in the community. According to the testimony of a guest in the Manuel home, after his interview with the two Jennings men, Kossuth asked his wife for his pistol. One of the brothers also requested one, but Manuel said his would be sufficient. They then went to the Bellon home in which Maius and Leo were guests.

There were several eyewitness accounts to what occurred, some at variance with others, but in the main the court accepted the following facts. As Manuel, who supposedly had been drinking, approached, Bellon, who had been drinking with his two musician friends, came out of the house and on to the gallery. He had a pistol with him. Manuel said the Crochets were friends of his and meant no harm, asking for the return of the truck. Bellon refused, and both parties became increasingly belligerent. Finally, Bellon struck or pushed Manuel off the gallery. Manuel said, "Bellon, whatever you do, don't hit me again!" Accepting the veiled threat as a challenge, Alexander Bellon knocked his unwelcome visitor down. Manuel drew his pistol and fired either two or three times (accounts differ) striking Bellon, who went down. As the severely wounded man crawled under the truck, Manuel fired again.

Hearing the disturbance from the kitchen, Maius ran outside. Seeing his friend in danger, he leaped the gallery rail and ran to his side. Manuel, seeing this, fired one shot at Maius, killing him instantly. Manuel then mounted the truck and shot Bellon a final time.

Leo had followed out of the house within seconds of Maius, and Manuel pointed his pistol at him as if to fire. Leo was able to wheel quickly around and get back inside; this quick reflex quite probably saved his life.

Seeing that Bellon was mortally wounded, Kossuth Manuel left the scene. He first went to the town marshal and handed over his pistol, then traveled to Ville Platte to surrender himself to authorities.

When word reached Henry LaFleur about his son's death, he contacted a friend, Calbert Douis, who owned a pickup truck. The two men went to Basille to claim Maius's body, and returned him to Ville Platte in the back of the truck. He was taken to the home of his grandmother (who sometime earlier had removed from

the farm and now lived in town) for wake and services. He was interred in the city's Catholic cemetery in a family plot which has since accepted his father, step-mother, four half-brothers, and his beloved grandmother.

Seven weeks later the *Weekly Gazette* of Ville Platte had two stories of connecting interest on the front page. The first concerned the finding by the state that Kossuth Manuel was sane and able to stand trial for the killings with which he was charged. The other announced the arrival of a sample record by Maius and Leo at the Evangaline Pharmacy. The *Gazette* noted that Victor had shipped several hundred of the discs which would soon arrive in the area for distribution by local dealers.

In early 1929 Kossuth Manuel, who some years earlier had been tried and acquitted for the killing of another man, was convicted of manslaughter in the death of Alex Bellon, and murder without capital punishment in the case of Maius. He was sentenced to a life term in Angola Prison, but served only a few years. Talk of political influence in securing his early release angered many in the community.

When the long-awaited records arrived in Ville Platte, the Evangaline Pharmacy placed a phonograph in the middle of the street, with the volume turned up; the voice of Maius LaFleur sang hauntingly for all to hear. His heartsick father was later to secure copies of the recordings and close himself in the family parlor to listen to them in solitude.

It is vividly recalled by many long-time residents that J. M. Brunet had a filling station in Mamou. A rival station was just across the street. The owner of that station bought several copies of each record and played them loudly to infuriate Brunet. Brunet would forever after break any copy of his son-in-law's record which he could get his hands on, whether he owned them or not.

Leo Soileau was deeply injured by the senseless death of his friend. He seldom spoke of the incident, preferring to discuss Maius's musical ability and fine character. With no partner now, he asked Maxine Ledoux to take over accordion duties again at the dancehall. Ledoux did so for a few nights until Leo arrived with a seventeen-year-old prodigy from nearby Arnaudville, Moise Robin. Moise had known his predecessor slightly and had patterned his accordion technique after him. Leo and Moise would be partners for the next three or so years.

In assessing Maius LaFleur's standing as an artist, Moise has often referred to him as "The flower of the corn," calling him the best accordionist he has ever heard. He rates Joseph Falcon second, Ambrose Thibodeaux third, and Anjalais Lejune fourth. The Robin list does not include Lawrence Walker because he never heard him play. The largest portion of people who heard each of these men perform in person feel that Moise's listing is just about right, most especially in placing Maius at the top.

An often-noted coincidence, included here for completeness, tells that Iry Lejune, another great Cajun accordionist, the nephew of Anjalais, was born 28 October 1928--the very day that Maius died.

What may be the final note to the entire story occurred many years later when two ladies, who were sharing a hospital room in the Crowley area, some thirty miles south of Ville Platte, became friendly. They chatted about a variety of subjects, and the topic of music finally arose. After some hesitation one lady confided that she was, indeed, Maius LaFleur's mother. She had remarried and had a family and lived in the general vicinity. Although she did not greatly elaborate, her hospital roommate was absolutely convinced of the authenticity of her statement.

--Los Angeles, California

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author wishes to thank the following persons for their kindness and time in sharing information and data, making the article possible: Mrs. Percy Perrodin, Mr. and Mrs. Wade Soileau, Mrs. Lou (Soileau) DeRoven, Mrs. Winnie (Soileau) Chapman, Mrs. Ramona (Soileau) Launey, Paul Sandau, Moise Robin, Luderin Darbone, Crawford Vincent, and Walter Lee, Clerk of the Court of Evangaline Parish.

MAMA, WHERE ARE YOU?

O Mama, where are you?
 Dear Mama, why is it
 That I never see you any more;
 Dear Mama, where are you?

O mama,
 I'd like to see you anyway,
 To see you before I die;
 Dear Mama ...

O mama, it is hard for me,
 Not to know, never to see you;
 O dear mama,
 I beg to see you.

(partial transcript; based on transcription in brochure notes to
 Old Timey 109: *Louisiana Cajun Music*)

RECORDINGS OF MAIUS LAFLEUR

19 October 1928, Atlanta

Leo Soileau and Maius LaFleur, violin and accordion duets;
 vocals by LaFleur.

47201-3	Basile Waltz	Vi 21769
47202-3	Mama, Where You At?	Vi 21769; Old Timey 109
47203-2	The Criminal	Vi 21770
47204-3	Your Father Put Me Out	Vi 21770

(information taken primarily from Brian Rust, *The Victor Master
 Book Vol. 2 [1925-1936]*; Hatch End, U.K., 1969)

GEORGE DANIELL'S HILL BILLIES: THE BAND THAT NAMED THE MUSIC?

by

WAYNE W. DANIEL

[Wayne W. Daniel is currently on the faculty at Georgia State University in Atlanta. In addition to being a regular submitter to the JEMFQ, Daniel's article on country, bluegrass, and old-time music have appeared in Frets, Bluegrass Unlimited, Old Time Music, The Devil's Box, and The Journal of Country Music. He is currently working on a book-length history of country music in Atlanta.]

The origin of the word *hillbilly*, which for so long was used to describe the music that evolved into what is now called country music, has been extensively explored by music historian Archie Green.¹ In an effort to document the first use of the term *hillbilly* in connection with the music, he reports that in January of 1925 (presumably on the fifteenth) a string band under the direction of North Carolina native Al Hopkins recorded two sides, "Silly Bill" and "Old Time Cinda," on the Okeh label. These tunes were subsequently released on Okeh 40294 with artist credits listed as "The Hill Billies."² There appears to be no reason to doubt that this was the first use of the term *Hill Billies* on a record label, and consequently Green has christened Al Hopkins's Hill Billies "The band that named the music."³ Recently discovered evidence, however, indicates that the distinction of being the first string band to have the term *Hill Billies* as part of its name belongs to another group.

On Sunday, 15 February 1925, the *Atlanta Journal* announced that "Noble George Exie ('Wolf-Kitty') Daniel [sic]. The name appears in newspaper articles of the day variously as Daniel, Daniell, Daniels, and McDaniel. The name appears on the subject's tombstone as Daniell, a spelling verified by persons who knew him), the 'whiz' of Cobb County, jeweler of Marietta, cymbalist of the Yaarab Temple's Oriental band, leader, director, conductor and two-time musician of his 'Hill-Billy' orchestra, will stage a broadcast from WSB's studio on the 10:45 [p.m.] program Wednesday next."⁴ An article in the 18 February issue of the *Atlanta Journal* informs readers that "The 'Hill-Billies,' an ancient organization formed in the hills of Georgia some hundred years ago by Jerry Daniell, George's great-great grandpa, is famous for its ancient atmosphere....The name has been handed down from generation to generation until George, the present, fell heir to it, and George has kept its reputation unsullied" (author's italics).

Perhaps we should allow for possible journalistic or pride-of-ownership exaggeration and look to other sources for documentation of the name's longevity. A former member of the band, James W. Lee, states that the group was called George Daniell's Hill Billies when he started per-

forming with it in 1924.⁶ It seems safe to assume then that the name George Daniell's Hill Billies preceded the name "The Hill Billies" as applied to Al Hopkins's group by several years at least. The matter of which group first reached a national audience is not so easily settled. George Daniell's group went on the air on 18 February 1925. Green speculates that the Al Hopkins record became available to the public "by February." Green bases his supposition of a February release date on the fact that the Okeh catalog supplement for February 1925 carried an announcement of the Al Hopkins/The Hill Billies record. If the record was, in fact, on the market in February, the exact date appears to be unknown. Perhaps it was as late as 28 February, ten days after George Daniell's Hill Billies appeared on WSB. Advertising for the record did not appear in Atlanta newspapers until 13 March, a date on which the record may have first appeared in record stores in Atlanta and other cities.

In any event, there appears to be no reason to doubt that the broadcast by George Daniell's Hill Billies reached a far larger national audience than did the Al Hopkins record. There appears to be no evidence that the record was a big seller, even in an era when a record of its type was considered a hit if it sold a mere 60,000 copies in a year.⁸ George Daniell's Hill Billies, on the other hand, may have been heard by more than two million people on the evening of 18 February alone. At the time of their broadcast, WSB was "recognized as a favorite of long standing by millions of Americans and numbering close personal friends in every city and hamlet in the land."⁹ Two years earlier the *Journal* (25 February 1923; p. 11) had reported that WSB's advance programs were being mailed every week to newspapers in more than thirty states. The 10:45 p.m. program on which Daniell's Hill Billies appeared was considered the station's "prime time," and as early as 1923 the size of the audience for this program was estimated at more than two million. On the day after their radio debut, the *Journal* reported that "As soon as the 'Hill Billies' concluded their first number in WSB's studio on their 10:45 program, messages began to pour in over the telegraph and telephone. Wires came from Florida, Texas, and Mississippi and numerous call[s] from Atlanta and vicinity clamored for additional old-time 'chunes.'"¹⁰ It

seems reasonable to assume that perhaps hundreds of thousands of listeners to Daniell's program heard for the first time the term *Hill Billies* used in association with the type of music for which the term would later become the label. One would seem justified then in calling George Daniell's Hill Billies "the band that named the music."

George Daniell's Hill Billies appears to have been a rather versatile band of variable composition. Over the years the group counted among its members a considerable number of local musicians. Those who performed with the band at one time or another included Charles E. Wilson, "figure caller par excellence"; T. W. Kee, bass fiddle player; Fred Becker, fiddler; John Burdine, "straw beater extraordinary"; Edwin H. Payne, saxophone player; Mrs. George Daniell, pianist; J. D. Collins, drummer; T. W. McGarrity, saxophone player; J. C. King, figure caller; Boag Richardson, fiddler; Bob Brown, "alto fiddler"; George Dunn, bass fiddle player; Buster Dunn, banjoist; Kem Wiley, guitarist; Henry Dunn, guitarist; Howard Scoggins, mandolin player; James W. (Bill) Lee, mandolin player; Herbert Wallace; Jake Groover, comedian and washboard player; Sherman Lee, guitarist; Cook James, black-face comedian; Robert McBrayer; Luke James, fiddler; Ewing Underwood; "Snooks" Saul; Edward Richardson; and Myrtle Richardson. Edward and Myrtle Richardson were son and daughter, respectively, of Boag Richardson. They performed with Daniell's band as children. George Daniell, himself, played the autoharp and harmonica "at one and the same time, and use[d] first his left and then his right foot as a baton while directing his other musicians."¹¹

Mrs. Daniell was a trained musician who taught music and, according to former members of the band, served as organist at the First Baptist Church of Marietta for many years. One former band member recalls that George Daniell referred to his wife's music as "long-hair" music. But in referring to his own band he would say, "We're just a bunch of hillbillies." Mrs. Daniell, however, was no musical snob, and when needed she would add her piano expertise to that of the other band members.

The Hill Billies' repertoire, as well as its style, was varied. According to the *Journal* the group was "famous the country over for the characteristic country breakdown airs they feature[d]."¹² According to the *Atlanta Journal* (25 July 1925; p. 9) these breakdowns included such fare as "Georgia Wagon," "Alabama Gals," "Turkey in the Straw," "Hog in the Canebrake," "Pop Goes the Weasel," "Billy in the Lowground," and "Honeysuckle." Bill Lee remembers playing most of these tunes as well as "Down Yonder," "Alabama Jubilee," and "Missouri Waltz." Howard Scoggins, who as a young man performed with Daniell's group from about 1925 to 1928, says that the band played whatever type of music the occasion demanded, including scared and popular

music. Scoggins states that the band, which usually consisted of about fourteen members, played at churches, hotels, high school commencement exercises, fairs, square dances, and various other functions. One of the group's public appearances received considerable publicity in the Atlanta newspapers. On Friday night, 20 February 1925, two days after their historic broadcast, the Hill Billies were a feature attraction at the Atlanta Yaarab Temple's Oriental Band tacky party at Shrine headquarters, 190 Peachtree Street. Advance publicity informed readers that while the orchestra engaged to provide the modern dance music for the occasion was resting, "the 'Hill Billy' orchestra will play from an old-time break-down."¹³ Following the performance at the tacky party, the *Journal* reported that:

George Daniell's "Hill-Billy" orchestra from Cobb County, proved a distinctive hit Friday night at the Oriental band's tacky party in the auditorium, and repeated requests were made for the old-time airs, but the brand of music put out by the Peerless Entertainers [the modern dance band engaged for the occasion] proved a more popular vehicle for dancing.

The crowd wanted to listen to the "Hill-Billy" breakdown music and the crowd also wished to "watch" somebody else do the quadrille, the result was about eight couples did all of the square dancing and the others looked on. Some one commented that Atlanta was just too young, or ultra-modern to participate in a breakdown.

But how George's boys did play. Old Bo Richardson, the best fust-fiddler in this neck of the woods, had his inning and gave demonstrations of the real old-fashioned methods of handling a bow. George Daniell, with his French harp and auto harp both going at the same time, created a future [sic] and it was with difficulty that the committee held the crowd back, so anxious were those present to get a close-up view of George in action. Kem Wiley, with his guitar; George Dunn, with the big bull fiddle; Buster Dunn, with his banjo, and Bob Brown, playing the alto fiddle, made up the rest of the orchestra, while "Snooks" Saul did the "figger-calling."¹⁴

Speaking of the Hill Billies' reputation that George Daniell had reputedly kept "unsullied," Howard Scoggins recalls that "The band was very popular around the Atlanta area. We never played to an empty house."¹⁵ In addition to its music the group, according to Scoggins, also featured comedy routines. One of these was a "Mutt and Jeff" act played by two members of



George Daniell's Hill Billies (ca. mid-twenties). Back row (1 to r), Boag Richardson, Howard Scoggins, Kem Wiley, Luke James, Bill Lee, Jake Groover, George Dunn; seated (1 to r), George Daniell, Robert McBrayer, Edward Richardson, Myrtle Richardson, Ewing Underwood; sitting on floor, Cook James. (photo courtesy Howard Scoggins)



George Daniell's Hill Billies. (1 to r), Edwin H. Payne, Mrs. George Daniell, George Daniell (seated), J. D. Collins, and T. W. McGarrity. (*The Atlanta Journal*, 18 February 1925, p. 9)

the group, Jake Groover and Ewing Underwood, whose respective heights were appropriate for their roles as impersonators of the then famous comic strip characters.

In addition to their 18 February appearance on WSB, George Daniell's Hill Billies performed on the station on at least four more occasions in 1925: 30 April, 16 July, 25 August, and 26 October. Following their 25 August broadcast, the Hill Billies received fan mail from Mobile, Alabama; Atlantic City, New Jersey; New York City; Ashland, Kentucky; and London, Tennessee. The listener from London, Tennessee, wrote as follows:

Gentlemen: George Daniel's Marietta Hill Billies from the heart of Cobb County are hot shots. Close a 99-year least on them soon as possible.

We east Tennesseans revere the kind of music George Daniel gave us last evening. Daniel Boone and John

Sevier brought this class of music into east Tennessee with them when they crossed the Blue Ridge to carve a civilization from the wilderness. It played an integral part in keeping up the courage of Tennessee's pioneers in their trying days.

While some so-called high-class musicians look disdainfully on this class of music, for real entertainment I prefer it to grand opera.

Gratefully yours, I. O. Remine.¹⁶

George Daniell died on 27 July 1970 at the age of 88. He was never aware of the significance of his band's name and its 18 February broadcast over WSB. George had no children, so no one was left behind to bear the name and carry on the tradition inaugurated by Jerry Daniell "in the hills of Georgia" now some 160 years ago.

--Chamblee, Georgia

NOTES

1. Green, Archie, "Hillbilly Music: Source and Symbol," *Journal of American Folklore* 78 (July-September 1965), pp. 204-228.
2. *Ibid.*
3. *Ibid.*
4. *The Atlanta Journal* (15 February 1925), p. 8B. Marietta, Georgia, home base of George Daniell's Hill Billies, was and is the county seat of what was then a predominantly rural Cobb County located adjacent to and west and northwest of Fulton County of which Atlanta was and is the County seat.
5. *The Atlanta Journal* (18 February 1925), p. 9.
6. Personal communication with Mr. Lee, June 1925.
7. *The Atlanta Georgian, Final Home Edition* (13 March 1935), p. 2C.
8. In their article, "Hell Broke Loose in Gordon County Georgia" (*Old Time Music* No. 25 [Summer 1977], pp. 9-21), Gene Wiggins and Tony Russell refer to the Georgia Yellow Hammers's recording of "The Picture on the Wall/My Carolina Sunshine Girl" as a "hit record which sold over 60,000 copies in 1928 alone."
9. *The Atlanta Journal* (15 March 1925), pp. 1, 6.
10. *Ibid.* (19 February 1925), p. 2.
11. *Ibid.* (15 February 1925), p. 8B.
12. *Ibid.* (25 July 1925), p. 9.
13. *Ibid.* (16 February 1925), p. 2.
14. *Ibid.* (22 February 1925), p. 7A.
15. Personal communication with Mr. Scoggins, June 1983.
16. *The Atlanta Journal* (30 August 1925), p. 7B.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my appreciation to the following people who helped me gather information for this article: Mack Compton and Harold Dunn who helped me locate former members of the Hill Billies band; Otis Cheatham, who showed me the location of George Daniell's grave; and Howard Scoggins, Bill Lee, and Jake Groover, who recalled their experiences as members of the band. I am especially grateful to Randy Carmichael who introduced me to Mr. Cheatham and helped in other ways.

I would also like to thank Professor Archie Green for his suggestions and encouragement to complete the research for this article.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS'S COWBOY EXHIBIT

by

ARCHIE GREEN

Ronald Reagan, with a characteristic blend of nostalgia and humor, opened the Library of Congress's first major folk exhibit "The American Cowboy" on 24 March 1983. In the Library's new Madison Building gallery, the President quipped that, among art and artifact, he saw no poster or photo from *Cattle Queen of Montana* (1955), in which he costarred with Barbara Stanwyck. Nor did he see any mention of his B-opus *Cowboy from Brooklyn*. Turning from visuals to ideology he joshed that the exhibit might point Washington to "some sorely needed horse sense."

Marking the media event's flair, President and Nancy Reagan donned replicas of Teddy Roosevelt's campaign bandanna (brown and red on beige cotton) in front of a marble statue of President James Madison, also sporting a colorful neckerchief. Collectors of presidential memorabilia will be pleased to know that this 22-inch square Rough Rider bandanna, reproduced from one used in 1912 by Roosevelt, can now be purchased, along with other cowboy mementos, at the Library's gift shop.

During 1984, the exhibit will tour from Capitol Hill to San Antonio, Texas; Denver, Colorado; Calgary, Alberta; and San Jose, California. I urge all enthusiasts of American sights and sounds, who can get to these cities, to attend this latter-day Wild West show as it crosses the continent. For an immediate preview, a 228-page book-catalog holding more than 300 color or duotone illustrations, is available. I suggest that local libraries order a copy of *The American Cowboy* (editors, Lonn Taylor and Ingrid Maar); it will soon become an indispensable tool in folk and popular-culture studies.

I had the good fortune to be present at the exhibit's opening reception--perhaps *spread* is the appropriate western word. A gleaming fiberglass sculpture by an Arizona modernist, Luis Jimenez, reminded guests in the lobby that mounted cowboys eternally chase red-eyed longhorns. A *New Yorker* reporter described the party in "Talk of the Town" (18 April 1983) by noting that guest curator Lonn Taylor wore a tuxedo and cowboy boots. I can add that the Riders in the Sky, a string-band trio, favored boots, Levis, and Stetsons. Justice Sandra Day O'Connor and Clare Boothe Luce wore long gowns, while Patsy Montana dressed like a singing cowgirl. Not competent to offer a full fashion report, I



can best sum up the evening's cheer by reporting that I said hello to fellow fans from divergent quarters: Eugene McCarthy, Alexander Haig.

In recent years libraries and museums have complemented art shows with taped oral commentaries, musical selections, and film clips. For this exhibition we can see William S. Hart riding again, as well as contemporary Nevada buckaroos in pickups. The Library has also built a cafe nook with a wall-mounted jukebox holding twenty songs from Carl T. Sprague and Jules Verne Allen to Roy Rogers and Dale Evans. Bob Pinson, one of the JEMF founders and now "boss discographer" at

the Country Music Foundation in Nashville, with the help of several colleagues, put together a splendid jukebox program. The cafe's printed menu identified the separate musical entrees, and noted that they fell into two chief categories: traditional folksongs touching occupation, romantic popular songs composed for stage or screen.

This distinction between folk and popular song, when transposed to visual art, can well serve as an underlying thematic statement for the entire exhibition. In reflecting on cowboys in art we slip readily into convenient dualities of real and mythic figures, whether offered by painter, etcher, lithographer, or sculptor. Folklorists distinguish ethnographic reports from oral narratives, and place legend and myth within the latter category. In turn, legend and myth are types of stories which hinge either on secular or sacred purposes. From different angles, western historians usually lump all fictional treatment of the cowboy under the term *myth*. Taylor, and his colleagues, similarly apply this same tag widely to include imaginative projection and commercial hype.

The exhibit book-catalog holds four substantial essays, which parallel succinct statements on Madison Building wall-cards describing the actual items on display. These essays, arranged in pairs, move from ethnography to cultural interpretation: "The Open-Range Cowboy of the Nineteenth Century" (LT); "The Cowboy Hero: An American Myth Examined" (LT); "Modern Cowboy Life on the Texas Plains" (B. Byron Price); "Bubba and Virgil: Cowboys Again" (Dave Hickey).

The first three pieces are well researched, carefully written, and most useful to readers. The fourth piece flaunts trendy journalism at its worse--hip, inflated, pretentious. I find its inclusion in this catalog beyond understanding. In recent years, Hickey has offered cogent criticism of country "outlaw" music. Perhaps, in turning to cowpoke philosophy, he felt that surrealistic prose best suited tinsel and glitter, bar and brothel. A few wall posters and honkytonk handbills from Austin could well have substituted, with economy and verve, for his so-called "dialectical inquiry."

Talking to a *New Yorker* reporter at the Library of Congress on the show's opening night, Taylor summed up its intent: to mark the difference between cowboy myth and reality. Originally, he added by way of explanation, "cowboys were a product of the refrigerator and the railroad." After the Civil War, cattlemen hired young men on horseback to get beef from open range to railroad (and, ultimately, to butcher shop and kitchen table.) Following the devastating blizzards of 1886, owners reduced their herds, used barbed wire to fence the range, and reached out to new efficiencies in ranch management. Windmills, to secure precious water for pasture and feed-crop, became new western icons.

Working cowboys, of course, did not cease labors with the introduction of barbed wire. Indeed, at times protesting, they strung and repaired fences long before Bing Crosby crooned "Don't Fence Me In." Their evolving story, through today's use of truck and helicopter, has been told by countless delineators in all communicative forms. Taylor writes better than many scholars who have turned to the West for subject matter. Beyond sight, he is relaxed with abstraction and concept.

Essentially, Taylor sees the early cowboy--the "Golden Age" rider of 1865-1890--as a Jeffersonian agrarian: symbiotically tied to nature, devoted to personal freedom, alienated in urban/industrial society. Taylor uses his second essay to ask how this Jeffersonian exemplar was transformed by others (as well as transforming himself) within our Hamiltonian society of factory labor, immigrant ghetto, corporate wealth, and commodified culture.

We know, in retrospect, that a doughty band of writers, artists, and actors pooled energies a century ago to create an idealized cowboy derived from James Fennimore Cooper's heroic Leatherstocking. The exhibit catalog reveals the wonderful variety of talent employed by mythmakers, among whom certain names predominate: Buffalo Bill, Frederic Remington, Owen Wister, Charles Russell, Zane Grey, Tom Mix, John Lomax, Frank Dobie, Gene Autry, Will Rogers, John Wayne, Clint Eastwood.

In previous issues of the *JEMF Quarterly* I have touched on cowboys--drugstore/midnight/cosmic/neon--as children of Buffalo Bill and his sidekicks. Taylor concludes his second essay by suggesting that present-day sunbelt cowboys--lolling in hot tubs or wearing lizard-skin boots at conglomerate board meetings--will continue to reflect American aspirations. If we wish, we can relish the irony in pictures of leisure cowboys juxtaposed with toilers, foreign to leisure. However, the curator-historian knows that myth functions to externalize needs and to codify values alike for saddle tramp and media superstar, drifter and executive.

Students of cowboy culture have long organized their material along polar lines: ethnographic/fictive, historic/romantic, true/false, real/"reel" (film). Some historians have developed a cottage industry exploring these contrasts and have felt it crucial to place fabricators in dark corners. By erasing error, revisionist historians, as if on a holy mission, have longed to separate cowboys from their decoys.

Recently, Don D. Walker in *Clio's Cowboys* (1981) has gone beyond the obvious contrast of gritty worker and rugged gunslinger by examining closely a series of revered western texts. For example, he finds that the early, and much-cited, account by Joseph G. McCoy *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest* (1874) mixes empirical description with consider-

able fantasy and subjective judgment. Needless to say, no text is now secure from new critics. However, the Library of Congress exhibit does not stem from the impulse of revisionism, nor the wish to rectify lurid accounts. Rather, it portrays connections between realistic and mythic efforts.

Physically, the exhibit material falls into three chief units--a central section on the fictive cowboy surrounded by two sections on his working mates, past and present. Within the central portion we see pulp fiction covers, Wild West posters, movie stills, LP albums, and a kaleidoscope of ads. The exhibit makes such disparate material sensible by linking the domains of work and play. Not only do we see wranglers in unadorned settings, as they have usually presented themselves, but, also, we see them from idealized perspectives employed for more than a century. I found a number of functional artifacts (branding iron, riata, chuck box) particularly valuable in integrating the show's constantly shifting visual images.

Even in a quick walk through the gallery, one responds immediately to the complexity implied by the notion of dual realms. Any pair of items on the wall (or in the catalog) establishes contrast and compels questions. To illustrate: Charles D. Kirkland's Wyoming photos of the 1890s present, without artifice, cowboys cutting out and branding cows. Kirkland's camera leads us directly to understanding his subject's economic function in society. Contrariwise, Hopalong Cassidy, on a thermos jug or a breakfast placemat, leads us to Madison Avenue and its attention to the child as consumer. We need not be told again that Hopalong differs from Kirkland's cowboys; we can go on from visual reminder to fresh formulation.

My special pleasure in the exhibit derived not from seeing obvious opposites, but from noting Taylor's sense of the interpretation of opposites. Initially, I accepted his intent as that of leading viewers to the flow from work to play (truth to illusion) in clear sequential frames. Later, upon reflection, I saw these discrete frames as juxtaposed, distorted, blurred. Some students know that cowboys have always read dime novels about their exploits, told idealized tales to each other, and sketched themselves on scratch pads in lines larger than life. Folklorists have had to detail how a particular set of workers created its own lore, and, then, presented popular-culture hucksters with symbols for sale.

We need not reiterate, here, the long development of vaquero culture in Mexico, nor the colonial and post-Revolutionary movement west from South Carolina by drovers and herders. Historians differ on the precise dates for the convergence of these streams in Texas. Regardless, they situate the emergence of the classic cowboy in the post-Civil War decade. In this very same timespan we find evidence that working hands

turned their everyday experience into personal narratives which led to dime novel, lurid art, and exciting stage drama.

In the 1870s the *Police Gazette* and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly* started to regale national audiences with woodcuts of stereotyped cowboys: lawless, lecherous. Within twenty years these daredevils became saints: virtuous, virginal. In 1872 impresario Ned Buntline hired John Burwell Omohundo, Jr., a working trail driver and former cavalryman with Jeb Stuart, to play "Texas Jack" in the *Scouts of the Prairie, or Red Deviltry As It Is*. Literally, a cowboy transported himself from ranchhouse to Chicago theatre--lasso and all. Metaphorically, Omohundo and a thousand successors lassoed a worldwide audience. We continue to see "Texas Jack's" grandchildren nightly on TV.

It is not my purpose, here, to overstress the anonymous wrangler at work, nor his idealized partner on center stage. As Americans, we know both these twins. The cowboy fills a glaring landscape, for no member of other occupational groups is as visible. Each library viewer has already seen a western-film rider or a Marlboro man. Hence, we bring to this exhibit images long formed--cowboys tall in the saddle, strong in heart, and high on the marquee. Accordingly, some will use the show to reinforce comfortable notions, while others will begin to place cowboy imagery within large and troubling perceptions of national experience.

Jan Kramer in *The Last Cowboy* (1977) represents Henry Blanton on the Texas Panhandle as one who perpetually waged a losing battle against modernization. I see Blanton as a cousin of a newspaper compositor displaced by a computer, or an assemblyline autoworker displaced by a silent robot. Blanton went about his work simultaneously prideful and disappointed, yet he hung onto his job. Essentially, his personal code consisted of a received fabric woven out of a narrated and visualized cowboy past. He used myth as a trail marker. The hundreds of items selected in this exhibit, whether or not seen by Blanton, functioned in his life as much as did spurs or wire stretchers.

Professor Price, the author of *The American Cowboy's* third essay on contemporary ranch life, offers a sober account of cowboys in the 1890s, as often employed by commercial feed-lot managers as by home ranchers. Price suggests that by 1990 scientists will replace the branding iron with implanted encoded transponders and the castrating knife with calcium-chloride-filled syringes. He neither praises nor damns such "progress" but he helps us ask how cowboys with electronic and antiseptic tools will construct the fresh realities needed to guide "natural men" in the high-tech era.

The term *negotiate* is useful to bring meaning to reports on change on the range. With varying degrees of success autoworkers and news-

paper printers try to negotiate collective agreements to slow down technological change, or to turn it to their interests. By contrast, individual working cowboys seem best able to negotiate the images which govern self-respect, or which certify that they have truly earned their reputation for independence. I doubt that Taylor and his peers held a didactic purpose in mind in gathering their exhibit material. Nevertheless, I would like to think that every item they presented in the Madison Building had served previously, or will continue to serve, cowboys in choosing social paths and defining large values.

Generally, in cowboy exhibitions we set off photographs as realistic from paintings as romantic expressions of experience. Among Taylor's strongpoints are his awareness that documentary photographer, fine artist, and commercial artist are brothers under the skin. For example, we honor Erwin Smith, a giant among photographers of cowboy life. This exhibit tells us that he used images projected by Remington and Russell prior to placing cowboys in front of his camera. Taylor does not try to debunk Smith by asserting that he must be false if he is not true. Rather, the curator helps us decode the photographer's assumptions, and see the power in his representations as they contain the tension inherent in balancing spheres.

Carl Fleischhauer, a staff member at the American Folklife Center, can be viewed in the tradition of Smith, as well as that of acclaimed New Deal agency photographers such as Russell Lee. During 1978, the Center undertook a study of modern ranching at Paradise Valley, Humboldt County, Nevada. A number of Fleischhauer's Nevada photos grace *The American Cowboy*. In "Ranch Crew," he presents a group of eight men resting in front of a line-camp cabin. Seven wear traditional Stetsons, while one long-haired youth favors a nondescript large hat. In "At Day's End," rancher Fred Miller is mounted on a horse in front of a corral. Fred wears a red duck-billed cap marked with a feed-store name in yellow. In "Spring Branding," three buckaroos all use such "new" work caps.

Professor Price, in his catalog essay, notes that baseball caps have been introduced in some West Texas ranch quarters. (I have heard them called "gimme caps" in reference to the overpriced sales logo, as well as "cat hats" from caterpillar tractor and catskinner.) We can pause to ask whether such headgear reached Paradise Valley from baseball field, construction site, or farm-equipment supply house. We should ask how modern cowboys feel about dressing down from Stetson to cat hat. Next, we might ask when a romantic painter, affiliated with the Cowboy Artists of America, will offer an oil-on-canvas featuring a wrangler topped out with a cap advertising a continental trucking line or a nearby grain elevator.

Carl Fleischhauer's documentary photos help close the exhibit by affirming continuities in

occupational practice. Literally, we see his Nevada cowboys working in much the same manner as predecessors in the pages of *Harper's Weekly* or the *Illustrated London News* a century ago. I have selected but one symbol, the duck-billed logo cap, in his visual compositions, not to mark obvious change, and not even to comment on chronological discontinuity. Instead, I ask his pictures to help viewers affirm the interdependence of realistic and mythic elements in American life.

In these remarks I have veered between a critic's report on an art exhibition and a similar formal book review for the display's catalog. In stressing Lonn Taylor's role, I have been fully conscious of the number of associates at the Library of Congress, and elsewhere, who worked with him. In featuring Taylor's analysis, I hope also to honor his colleagues for their separate contributions to a magnificent show. As well, I credit United Technologies Corporation for its generous support to this entire project.

At this juncture, I offer nine graphics in a "mini-exhibit" to mark some of the ways of pulling seemingly contradictory portraiture together. Four reproductions (1,4,5,6) come from *The American Cowboy*, and five from my files. I encourage JEMFO readers to prepare similar "exhibitions" at home. The cowboy depictions available in library and museum seem endless, and can be arranged to make various statements. Each item reproduced in this issue of the JEMFO is identified by a source headline. A select bibliography is appended as a guide to further reading.

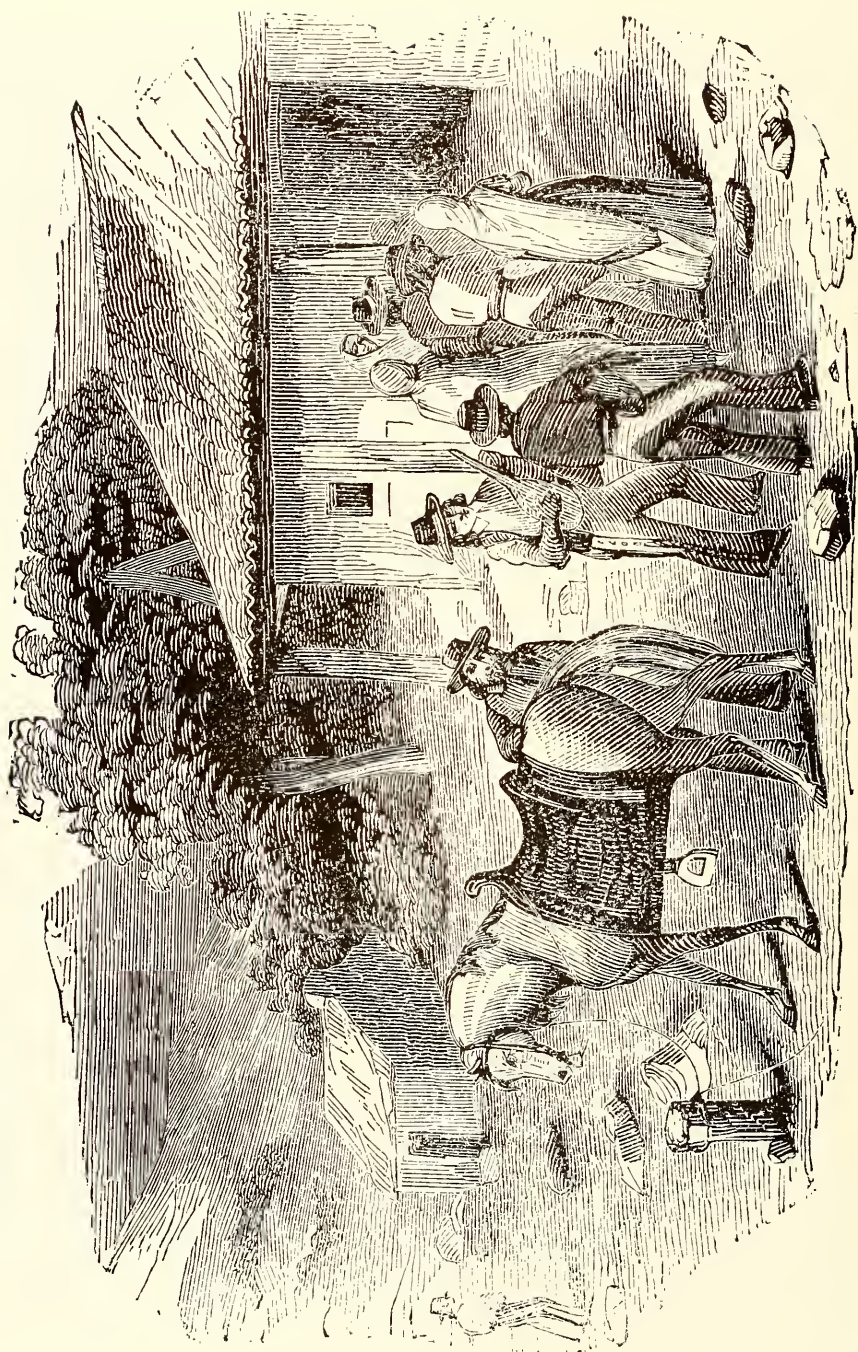
* * *

- 1) "Lazooing a Horse on the Prairie." Wood engraving by J. T. Hammond from an unknown artist's sketch for *In a Visit to Texas* (New York: Goodrich and Wiley, 1834).

Some historians date American cowboy origins to 1494, when Columbus unloaded horses and cattle at Hispaniola (Haiti), or to 1519 when Cortez brought horses to Vera Cruz, Mexico. For centuries, cattle ranching in New Spain spread to its northern outposts in present-day California and Texas. Taylor correctly identifies the Mexican vaquero as the Texas cowboy's mentor and companion and points out that the former's dress was represented in books, advertisements, and popular illustration until well after the Civil War.

To visually divide two catalog essays (real and mythic cowboys), Taylor closes his first with a Remington oil painting (1895) which includes a barbed-wire fence, a symbol of the end of open-range ranching. He begins the second with an earlier symbol, two flamboyant vaqueros on the open prairie. I have selected this 1834 illustration, deliberately, because it precedes the denotation in speech of cowboy as an American occupation. Additionally, I suggest a modification in Taylor's use of this picture to preface comments on myth-making.





Going to a Fandango.

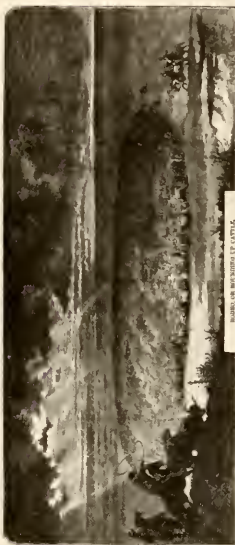
proportions and majestic port might have served as a disguise for Jove himself.



THE PROCE



ON THE TRAIL.



BOATMEN ON THE RIVER.



BOATMEN ON THE RIVER.



ON THE TRAIL.



ON THE TRAIL.



ON THE TRAIL.



ON THE TRAIL.



ON THE TRAIL.



ON THE TRAIL.

THE TEXAS CATTLE TRADE.—DOWN BY FRESNO AND TATUM.—[Long Post Box.]

JACK DEMPSEY STILL WEARS THE DIAMOND BELT.

THE NATIONAL POLICE GAZETTE

THE WEIR-WARREN FIGHT.

THE LEADING ILLUSTRATED SPORTING JOURNAL IN AMERICA.

RICHARD K. FOX,
Editor and Proprietor

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1887.

VOLUME LI. No. 518
Price Ten Cents



HE HAD HIM ON A STRING.

THE MANAGER OF A DIZZY BLONDE TROUPE IS LASSED BY AN INDIGNANT COWBOY AT DODGE CITY, KANSAS.

HARPER'S WEEKLY.

JOURNAL OF CIVILIZATION.

VOL. XXXI.—No. 1563
Copyright, 1887, by HARPER & BROTHERS

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, APRIL 23, 1887.

TEN CENTS A COPY.
\$4.00 PER YEAR IN ADVANCE.



THE PRAIRIE LETTER-BOX.—DRAWN BY R. F. ZOGRAFF.—[SEE PAGE 255.]

OLD FAMILIAR TUNES







Having already indicated my view of cowboy culture as a dialogue of opposites, "Lazooing" makes the point admirably. I see this illustration as an ethnographic description of men at work as well as a romantic statement of an heroic calling. Why does Taylor find it the right picture to open a discourse on myth? Two answers come to mind. In part, this woodcut's style is dated and, hence, connotes a pleasant sense of antiquity--one appropriate for a holiday greeting card, or for a treatment of fictive buckaroos. In part, this engraving's artist reveals a sophisticated and modern treatment of content. Hence, "Lazooing's" affective power arises from the tension locked into the tie of "old" woodcut style to "new" meaning within formal composition.

To elaborate: "Lazooing's" vital horsemen neatly divide prairie grass from cloudy sky. In the human zone between nature's realms, the horsemen and their pursued wild mustangs form a symmetrical design (a triangular target) which projects the eye away from mundane work to unfettered space. Hence, this picture's internal arrangement implies distant freedom. Whether such a message was intended consciously we do not know. The artist might have asserted that he merely rendered vaqueros at work. In sum, a picture selected to note myth may actually comment on the complementarity of experience and illusion.

The Library of Congress's cowboy exhibition book-catalog holds some 300 illustrations, each susceptible to plural interpretations. A viewer can well pretend to be walking around a temple's sculptured frieze, seeing each figure in sunny relief or deep shadow. Perhaps *JEMFO* readers will see "Lazooing" differently than do either Taylor or I. We welcome alternate views.

I close comments on "Lazooing a Horse on the Texas Prairie" with a bibliographic note. *A Visit to Texas* was published anonymously in 1834. Western historians have suggested that the author might have been a J. Fiske, Colonel Morris, or Dr. M. Fiske. The book's four engravings were made by J. T. Hammond, probably in New York. Did he see an author's sketch of Texas vaqueros? If not, what did he see to prepare for the assignment? We lack, and seek, knowledge about author, anonymous artist, and Hammond. It is never too late to add to our meager store of facts on early depictions of cowboys in art.

- 2) "Going to a Fandango." Wood engraving, unknown artist, for John Frost, *History of the State of California* (Auburn, New York: Derby and Miller, 1850), p.78.

In *Two Years Before the Mast*, Richard Henry Dana described a journey from Boston to California in the early 1830s to purchase hides. After 1849, this book brought considerable attention to ranch life in California, as gold seekers began to alter the pastoral landscape. While the Gold Rush inflamed the nation, John Frost hurried an illustrated history of fabulous California to the market.

I have selected "Going to a Fandango" for a second reproduction to complement the opening scene of Texas horsemen at work. On the eve of a dance, these California vaqueros have put toil out of mind. In previous features I have used illustrations of cowboys dancing in Abilene, and miners in Leadville. However, in the engraving from Frost's book, we do not see action on the dance floor. Instead, we turn to his text for details:

The term fandango, though originally signifying a peculiar kind of dance, seemed to be used here [Sierra foothills] for an evening's dancing entertainment. I was present at a fandango a few nights ago, when a couple of performers were dancing 'el jarabe,' which seemed to consist chiefly of a series of monotonous toe and heel movements on the ground. But at these entertainments the waltz seems to be the steady dish. The merry notes of the guitar and the violin announce [the dance] to all comers.

This text aroused by curiosity as to whether or not Frost had actually seen and heard vaqueros at a California fandango. Amusingly I found that he had not, but rather had quoted a then-fresh report by J. Tyrwhitt Brooks, M.D. During 1849 in London, England, Brooks issued *Four Months among the Gold-Finders in California*. Immediately popular, the book was also published by Appleton in New York, and translated into Dutch, German, and French for European editions. Over years many California historians quoted Brooks's lively eye-witness accounts. To the great chagrin of scholars, Henry Vizately, an English journalist, confessed in 1893 that he and a friend, David Bogue, had never seen the Golden State. They had written their "participant's report" in ten days at home in London, when California dominated news. Hence, we have here an amiable fraud, the product of inflamed imagination and trickster mentality.

Further, I learned that John Frost (1800-1859), a Harvard graduate, turned for his life work to the mass production of histories, biographies, and homilies. Assisted by a staff of professional writers, he literally ground out more than 300 books in fifteen years. Mercifully, most are now forgotten. However, contemporary editors do frequently reproduce pictures from his out-of-print books. Neither Frost nor Vizately ever saw a vaquero dance the jarabe or heard fiddles and guitars on any ranch. Hence, we can label "Going to a Fandango" as a picture twice removed from reality. How then did its artist in New York visualize California costumes and settings? What were his pictorial models?

I suggest, here, that the matter of drawing cowboys from mental templates goes back in time at least to 1850. Frost's publisher did not know that Vizately's description of a fandango was not an eyewitness report. However, this publish-

er did know that Frost and his artist, together, were a continent removed from Gold Rush experience. Thus, we must understand the blurring of ethnography and fiction as a function of creative artists, as well as of working cowboys who used jest and tale or dance and song to add balm to dreary days.

Under one light we see John Frost's vaqueros solely as creatures of the imagination; under another light, we see these same figures as early visual examples of cowboy experience. I stress, of course, functional continuity from one set of participants to another in an evolving occupation. Some bibliographers have noted the artistic crudity in Frost's California history. Regardless, "Going to a Fandango," whether labeled crude in style or false in conception, reminds us that vaqueros who lassoed horses by day also recreated themselves by music at night.

- 3) "The Drovers." Sketch and wood engraving by Porte Crayon (David Hunter Strother) for his series, "Virginia Illustrated," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 10 (February 1855), 303; and *Virginia Illustrated* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1857), p. 132.

The two vaquero illustrations (treated above) reveal paired features of cowboy life as it moved north from Mexico to Texas and California. Our third engraving touches action on the Appalachian front. David Hunter Strother, a writer-artist, traveled widely for Harper's before the Civil War. Under the pseudonym Porte Crayon, he prepared extensive journalistic reports for this widely-read magazine.

Born at Martinsburg, Virginia (now West Virginia), in 1816, Strother trekked the Ohio Valley during 1838, painting river-town dwellers. Five years later he became a book illustrator in New York, pencil sketching upon paper, transferring drawings to woodblocks, and engraving the blocks. (Normally, three individuals handled these separate assignments.) When Strother began to write for Harper's, he took his pen name from Washington Irving's "Geoffrey Crayon," and emulated Irving with a potpourri of local color, anecdote, reminiscence, and historical tidbit.

"The Drovers" marks cowboy practice in the East and can represent any day in the years between the Revolution and the Civil War. Strother identified those cattle he saw as "wending their way from the rich pastures of Monroe and Greenbrier to the eastward." Specifically, he depicted a mountain pass between Greenbrier County, West Virginia, and Bath County, Virginia. Today we find his prose excessive: "Now advanced with slow and stately tread, in all the pomp of bovine majesty, the vanguard of one of those monstrous herds. The lead ox is Jovian. His horns spring from his curling forehead in tapering length, a full cloth-yard each one. What horns! What noble drinking cups they would have made."

However stilted this writing seems for present-day readers, Strother's drawing retains its clarity and strength. Rhetorically, I am

no longer comfortable with a Jovian ox. However, visually, I enjoy Porte Crayon's engraving of this great beast. In short, I believe that the picture has outlasted its text of 1855. One of the most intriguing elements in this illustration is the Negro lead drover--perhaps a slave. The two mounted horsemen bringing up the rear are indistinct; I cannot tell whether they are white or black. From Colonial days through the 1870s, men who worked cattle answered to the name *drover* or *herder*. When *cowboy* supplanted *drover*, the latter term picked up an old-fashioned air.

Readers may wish to compare Strother's picture with "A Drove of Texas Cattle Crossing a Stream" by Alfred R. Waud for *Harper's Weekly* (19 October 1867) (p. 36, TAC). This dramatic engraving of a herd en route to New Orleans reminds us that not all cattle drives ran south to north. Waud had achieved fame as a Civil War artist with the Army of the Potomac. In 1866 Harper's sent him South to picture "the rising of a new world from chaos." Some of his most important sketches, in the eyes of folklorists, are of Louisiana Acadians, then known to readers of Longfellow's "Evangeline."

Terry Jordan, a cultural geographer, in *Trails to Texas* focuses attention on the scenes caught so memorably by Porte Crayon in Appalachia and A. R. Waud in Cajun country. These artists together help us visualize progression in cowboying as craft. Further, as Robert Taft has noted, Waud's picture of a western cattle drive was the first found in the national illustrated press, preceded a few months by an actual work scene: James E. Taylor, "Branding Cattle on the Prairies of Texas," *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* (29 June 1867), 232. Attention to vaqueros, drovers, herders, and branders enlarged the sights of Americans who believed that cowboys played a destined role in our nation's westward expansion.

- 4) "The Texas Cattle Trade, 1873." Nine wood engravings from drawings by Paul Frenzeny and Jules Tabernier for *Harper's Weekly* (2 May 1874), 386-387.

These sequential illustrations have been reproduced many times as originally grouped within a single frame, or, individually, as self-contained cuts. For example, John Meigs in *The Cowboy in American Prints* selected six items from the set for his book's front endpapers. The *Harper's Weekly* editor, in 1874, clearly intended this clustered double-page to be journalistically true. Frenzeny and Tabernier, a team of French artists, had observed a cattle drive's beginning in Denison, Texas, and another one's ending in Wichita, Kansas. However, they did not accompany cowboys on their northern trek. Hence, even in their explanatory art, they called upon considerable imagination. To cite one fanciful cut: Meigs notes that "On the Trail" "with its neat and orderly line, was a far cry from the actual milling herd on the trail."

I need not elaborate on this double-page offering by Frenzeny and Tabernier beyond rein-

forcing the succinct note in *The American Cowboy*. (I assume that Lonn Taylor and Ingrid Maar share credit for the book's notes.) They state that the *Harper's Weekly* feature "gave Americans their first comprehensive view of the booming cattle trade," in 1874--then but a few years in national consciousness. Interestingly, this feature appeared in the very year when Joseph G. McCoy issued his *Historic Sketches of the Cattle Trade of the West and Southwest*. (Original title page reproduced in *TAC*, p. 39.) This book held more than 100 illustrations after sketches by Henry Worrall, a Topeka artist. In a sense, McCoy and Worrall joined hands to present a lengthy book explaining the trade which two French artists had compressed into a double-page feature for *Harper's Weekly*.

- 5) "He Had Him on a String." Wood engraving, artist unknown, for the *National Police Gazette* (24 December 1887).

Here, I call attention to several items reproduced within *The American Cowboy*. Together they establish the time-line behind the *Police Gazette* cover, selected to introduce the hell-raising cowboy.

- a) 1867--Texas cattle drive by Waud in *Harper's Weekly*; descriptive art.
- b) 1870--Munro's dime novel *Lasso Jack*, published with lurid cover.
- c) 1874--McCoy's history mixes close description and cliché; artist Henry Worrall depicts full scale of imagery.
- d) 1880--Lithographed trade cards appear to advertise shoes, cotton spools, and other products.
- e) 1883--*Police Gazette* includes a dramatic illustration of a two-gun-and-knife-in-teeth drunken cowboy in a Leadville, Colorado, ballroom.

Within the sixteen-year span (touched above) we see the rapid diffusion of literary and artistic forms: stark description, instant history, dramatic fiction, lurid art, appealing advertisement. We must note that neither history book nor novel held single features. For example, McCoy's "history" included super-charged drama, while pulp novels included some clear vignettes of actual life on the range.

Taylor notes that, as descriptions of ranch work reached the people, illustrated magazines also included hundreds of articles on cowboys as antisocial figures, if not full criminals. These were the years of semantic flowering for cowboy as worker, scoundrel, and knight. I shall reserve lexical study for separate presentation, but note, here, that cowboy described a bushwacker in the American Revolution, and a guerrilla-bandit on the Rio Grande during the Texas Revolution. The word *cowboy* seems not to have been shorn of negative color in speech until the 1870s, when it began slowly to supplant

vaguelo, drover, and herder. McCoy, in 1874, revealed that the term was quite new to northern readers by reporting that he used "cow-boy" to name an ordinary laborer on the Texas drive to Kansas. In retrospect, we observe that this word's normalization interacted with the tasks of fabricators--literary, graphic, commercial--who helped firm the word in American vocabularies.

Today we can look at a century-old *Police Gazette* cover of a cowboy throwing his lasso in a theatre and say, smugly, "Real cowboys didn't do that." Our sense of justice is strengthened as we proclaim the truth. By constantly striving to assert fundamental reality, or to restore fidelity to the past, we feature the cowboy at work rather than at play. How, then, do we picture the cowboy outside his occupational environment? Do we really want to see the dude in flat scenery and low profile?

It is now time to ask why *Police Gazette* artists turned an ordinary worker into a frolicking satyr. What public need did cowboy rowdies serve? Provocative art relishes ambiguity within humor. I can't help but ask why the cowboy in "He Had Him on a String" chose to capture a theatre manager rather than his troupe of "dizzy blondes." Who was stringing along the *Police Gazette* fans?

- 6) "The Prairie Letter Box." Wood engraving after a drawing by Rufus F. Zogbaum for *Harper's Weekly* (23 April 1887).

The curators who planned the Library of Congress exhibit took special pleasure in the work of Rufus F. Zogbaum, a South Carolinian, for his role in romanticizing the cowboy--that is, softening ruffian images. The artist "emphasized [the cowboy's] youth, his closeness to nature, his carefree attitude, and the loneliness of his work." Needless to say, Frederic Remington, Owen Wister, and Theodore Roosevelt embroidered Zogbaum's coverlet. One of the strengths of the exhibit catalog lies in its placement of fictive themes in historical settings. Americans, overwhelmed by immigrant hordes and city slums, were impelled to elevate the Anglo-Saxon cowboy (but not the Mexican, Negro, or Indian) as a courageous knight of the plains.

Harper's Weekly used "The Prairie Letter Box" for a cover--eight months removed from the *Police Gazette* cowboy on a rampage (described above). Taylor has indicated that Zogbaum's wood engraving is his favorite within the whole show: "You see the lone cowboy on his horse in a vast meadow of flowers, with the only sliver of civilization the letter he's dropping into a mailbox made from an old beef crate."

Art historians correctly link Zogbaum's conception to "imitations" by N. C. Wyeth (oil on canvas), Erwin Smith (photo), and to the cover for a John White song folio. I can add only that while Zogbaum's cowboy was physically alone and, technically, connected to those beyond the horizon by a few letters, this picture helped viewers throughout the land break their own isolation

wherever *Harper's Weekly* dropped into a rural mailbox. We measure ourselves with cowboy images long held in mind. We overcome personal loneliness as we judge ourselves against platonic isolates.

- 7) "Old Familiar Tunes." Drawing by Barnes for record catalog *The Music America Loves Best* (Camden, New Jersey: RCA Victor Division, 1943).

With this Victor illustration for a World War II catalog, we move ahead to singing cowboys, not only romantic to the point of caricature, but also as certifiers of old-time values. Zogbaum's cowboy is homespun and warm; Victor's, saccharine and icy--almost the product of a wedding-cake confectioner. I have no information on Barnes, the commercial artist, who signed this drawing. His cowboy of 1943, perched on a corral fence, represents play in a domain where work has receded into an invisible past. Toolled boots and flowered shirt exaggerate dude-ranch wear of the 1940s. I cannot explain the flowing cloth or plant which seems to drape the corral rail and post.

This black-and-white drawing is as illusive as many of the items displayed in the Library of Congress exhibit. However, Victor's offering demands special attention because its cowboy literally play acts as he plays music under a caption declaiming "Old Familiar Tunes." We know this phrase to be one of the many code names for Anglo-American folk and folk-like music used by recording firms in the 1920s and thirties. Generally, when these companies wished to connote rurality and antiquity, they asked their artists to draw fiddlers at barn dances or banjoists on log cabin porches. Clearly, someone at Victor, in 1943, felt that a languid cowboy might also stand for down-home or traditional values.

In the eyes of a contemporary purist, Barnes's performer is neither old-time nor realistic. Did a recording executive, in 1943, consciously seek a cowboy of sugar and spice, of mystery and misinformation? To ask this question implies that a Victor official might then have had a stake in reserving cowboy imagery for authentic westerners. Should our major recording firm have come down on reality or glamour within the cowboy equation? I am inclined to believe that businessmen who promoted the Sons of the Pioneers or Roy Rogers and Dale Evans were quite comfortable with jumbling history and fiction, past and present. Essentially, Barnes's cowboy was deliberately designed to straddle two worlds. Cool in his costume, he sold recorded songs which invoked an America of pioneer stamina and success. No matter how garish his dress, his guitar sounded bedrock notes. Barnes's manikin, like others displayed in *The American Cowboy*, pulled together divergent experience.

- 8) Unlited cartoon of President Reagan. Jo Teodorescu for article by Robert Lindsey, "A Cowboy Hero, Myth and Reality," *New York Times* (21 January 1981); 19.

Cowboy spirit has bolstered Ronald Reagan both as actor and politician. In B-movies and as host on television's "Death Valley Days," he absorbed considerable western rhetoric which he carried to the White House. Accordingly, a theme emerged in his successful 1980 campaign: the loner rides to Washington to drive out scoundrels.

On 20 January 1981, the *Washington Post* carried a special inauguration section featuring "Will Reagan Ride with the Raiders?" by novelist Wallace Stegner. He opened with a detail--a California local sheriff's posse with matched palominos and \$25,000.00 silver saddles would parade down Pennsylvania Avenue. Stegner's "burr under the saddle" challenged: Could Reagan preserve the West's open land and fragile environment? Would the president ride with predatory developers--the West's real raiders? This perceptive analysis also included an early warning on James Watt, the then-probably choice for Secretary of Interior. To illustrate the piece, the *Post* used several color photos of white-hatted Reagan on a white horse and at his Santa Barbara ranch.

The *New York Times* (21 January) also carried an inauguration article similar to Stegner's, one by Robert Lindsey, "A Cowboy Hero, Myth and Reality." (Shall we ever put aside these linked rhetorical devices?) To assess Reagan as a Westerner, the reporter consulted Ray Allen Billington at the Huntington Library. The eminent historian saw Reagan's adaptation of cowboy values and style as ironic because these elements, themselves, were "mostly a product of American folklore" and "fantasies about the future concocted by journalists and fiction writers for pulp magazines." Professor Billington could have been writing commentary for the Library of Congress exhibit.

How do we overcome the static dualists who guard "true" cowboys from fantasy, fiction, and folklore? How do we measure meaning in the imaginative load each cowboy carries? Two newspaper caricatures suggest partial answers to these framing questions. The first, by Jo Teodorescu accompanies Lindsey's *Times* article. This drawing is light-hearted, appropriate to the good spirit with which we treat a presidential inauguration. Reagan leaves Los Angeles--smog, swami, swimming pool, freeway congestion, flashing police cars, Carthay Circle Theatre--for the largest stage of all. His Stetson and charger are still spotless; his thumb-finger gesture exudes confidence.

I assume that Teodorescu enjoyed the task of adding a visual dimension to Lindsey's treatment of Reagan. The cartoonist had ample precedent going back to the era of Teddy Roosevelt as a Rough Rider in the White House. This 1981 caricature, I believe, will stand the test of time; I do hope that it is included in future anthologies. My pleasure in the drawing derives from a sense that the rider goes in the wrong direction, West to East. Not only does he turn the American compass, but he impels us to ask: Will he turn

out Capitol Hill's claim jumpers, or, in the end, join their band?

- 9) Untitled cartoon of President Reagan. Paul Kosti for Lawrence Ferlinghetti's poem "Tall Tale of the Tall Cowboy," *Dallas Morning News* (24 May 1981); 36.

President Reagan had not been in the White House many months before the word *cowboy* achieved fresh shades of political meaning: nuclear cowboy, neutron cowboy, cowboy barbarian, cowboy conservative. Critics stressed his propensity for quick, unthinking remarks and for commitment to homilies of rugged individualism or jingoistic control. We come back to skeptical questions. Are cowboys really quick on the draw? If so, how do they rein in impulse long enough to land in fundamentalist camps? Such contradictions can be spun out endlessly; they contribute to our ability to see President Reagan in the stream of *Police Gazette* art.

In June 1981, Harper's printed Lawrence Ferlinghetti's "Tall Tale of the Tall Cowboy," in which the President "lassoed the red lions of Latin America" and "walked softly and carried a big nuke." The poem, distributed by Network News, was also carried in the *Dallas Morning News* (24 May) for which staff artist Paul Kosti drew an original caricature of Reagan with Boy Scout patch on shirt pocket, and missile on hip.

Commentators in recent years have noted the fear many citizens share of cowboy power. Kosti's illustration represents but an early articulation of such anxiety. A report on the Polish junta's banning of the Solidarity Union and imposition of martial law describes an official poster in Gdansk. Along with other enemies of Poland, the authorities picture a leather-chapped Reagan, six-shooter in hand, in a still from one of his cowboy movies (*San Francisco Examiner*, 31 January 1983, p. B3). My

own loyalties to the Solidarity Union preclude support to Polish commissars; nevertheless, I see the message in a poster which brings the proverbial cowboy's six-shooter up to date as a science-fiction weapon.

Kosti's Dallas cartoon represents but one possible ending to a report on a cowboy exhibition and its catalog. We can view his grim portrait as a reminder that life on all ranges is endangered. We can see it as but one of thousands of strings woven into cowboy metaphor. Finally, we can use it to return to curator Lonn Taylor's thematic oppositions.

Does a Reagan cartoon become mythic because he is not a real cowboy? Must cowboys work only with cattle to be authentic? Do they become spurious when they take up guns? Do Dosti and Teodorescu's caricatures poke fun at Reagan because we know, upon seeing them, that their subject plays at cowboying? Is the notion of a cowboy president inherently ludicrous? Why? Does not long familiarity with cowboy imagery help us scale our President's achievements? Do the two ephemeral newspaper caricatures, which I have selected to close this commentary, dispel or build myth in the sense intended by Lonn Taylor and his colleagues?

I have limited this "review" to nine graphic items, preceded by a photo of President Reagan in front of the James Madison statue during "The American Cowboy's" opening night. Again I urge *JEMFO* readers to see this Wild West show as it moves properly across the continent, East to West. As well, don't forget the splendid catalog--no boxtops needed! Finally, all the Library of Congress's pictures on display (vaquero/drover/ruffian/knight/politico), when seen together, will best serve if they illuminate and integrate American experience.

--San Francisco, CA

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COUNTRY MUSIC IN COMMERCIAL MOTION PICTURES (1933-53)

by

WILLIE SMYTH

[Willie Smyth is currently working on his Ph.D. in Folklore and Mythology Studies at the University of California, Los Angeles. A musician himself, Smyth has long been interested in the serious study of American country music. His most recent work, Country Music Recorded Prior to 1943: A discography of LP Reissues, will soon be published by the John Edwards Memorial Forum, as no. 13 in its Special Series.]

The importance of the commercial motion picture as a document for studying folk music traditions has been recognized only recently by a handful of scholars.¹ In general, students of country music have been concerned with preparing biographical and/or discographical studies of artists and/or with studying the historic, geographic, or sociocultural context in which song texts or musical forms appear. In these pursuits scholars have viewed the printed song text, field recordings of tunes, and the phonograph record as valuable, if not essential, items for investigation. As important as these elements are, though, they by no means exhaust the media which have contributed to the popularization and development of country music.

Recently the roles of radio shows and personal appearances in the history of country music have been topics of increasing interest to the student of folklore and popular culture.² Early radio shows, however, are in many ways more difficult to analyze than singers, song texts, or phonograph records. Only through assembling such data as newspaper articles and advertisements, interviews, and transcription discs have scholars begun to gauge the importance of radio shows to country music. Given the scarcity of early country radio shows preserved on transcription discs, investigation into the nature and importance of these shows will remain a challenging, yet worthwhile, task.

As more information surfaces about the relationship between country music and radio, important questions about the intermixing of forms of popular entertainment such as vaudeville, minstrel shows, and burlesque with other forms of folk culture come closer to being answered. It appears, for example, that the radio and stage performance styles of the likes of Uncle Dave Macon and the Weaver Brothers & Elviry were as much products of the vaudeville and burlesque stage as they were indigenous to rural areas. Hopefully, what will emerge from the further study of early country radio shows is a more thorough evaluation of this intricate interplay between folk and popular culture.

The need for examination of such interplay becomes even more apparent when one examines country music performed in motion pictures between the years 1933-1953. Unfortunately, little attention has been paid to musical performances

contained in commercial films such as B-westerns, hillbilly musicals, musical shorts, and Soundie pictures.³ Nonetheless, the celluloid media offers rich resources for understanding the development and popularization of country music. During the years 1933-53 there were approximately 700 such motion pictures (including feature films, shorts, and Soundies) released containing an average of four or five hillbilly or cowboy songs per film. This makes a total of nearly 3,000 songs captured audio-visually, a virtual treasure chest of documents for those interested in performance style, song text, techniques of musical instrument playing, the interplay of tradition and popular entertainment traditions, or a host of other topics.

There are of course good reasons for the paucity of research into early country music on film. The foremost impediment has been the scarcity of the films themselves. Unlike early phonograph recordings which have circulated abundantly since the production of reissue albums these films have remained in the hands of only a few film and record collectors or in archives.

A second problem is that most of these films have no equivalent of a record label, thus neither song titles nor recording personnel are properly credited. Information about certain aspects of the recording must be reconstructed from such sources as reviews printed in *Variety Weekly* or *New York Times Movie Reviews*, or from information found in song folios, personal interviews, biographies, or the like.

Lack of information about and access to these films has lead to a few false assumptions about the nature of the musical performances contained in them. One such impression is that all cowboy songs in films are overdubs--e.g., out-of-context songs lip-synchronized by cowpunchers on horseback singing amidst a herd of noiseless cattle. While some such scenarios indeed exist (for example in the Singing Sandy series, Smith Ballew's voice is dubbed in while John Wayne mimes the songs), it is more common to find scenes in which the singing protagonists are portrayed as the local radio stars, dancehall singers or square dance bands and thus perform in styles replicating their off-screen professional manner.

Another popular misconception is that most

of the songs in the feature-length films were penned by Broadway or Hollywood pop songwriters. In fact, one more often finds a combination of traditional songs, material written by western composers such as Bob Nolan, Jimmy Wakely, Ray Whitley, or Jack Elliot, and cowboy tunes by pop songwriters.

A final misconception is that the only kind of country music in films of this twenty-year period consists of cowboy songs. While this was the predominant musical genre, there are also a great many hillbilly, western swing, and novelty songs in feature films, shorts, and Soundies.

Preliminary film musicographical research is obviously needed to help researchers separate their prospective wheat from chaff. It is for this purpose that I have begun an index of country music on film, 1933-1953. Hopefully, as scholars become more aware of the value of these films as documents for research, these movies will be made more accessible to the public and thereby will be investigated with some of the thoroughness exhibited by researchers using recorded discs. Given recent advances in video technology, prospects for making this material available to the public seem especially encouraging.

Once such information is accumulated and films can be viewed, researchers can begin probing this media for answers to some of the questions posed above. Given the predominance of cowboy songs in these films, this musical genre provides a good starting point for investigation. It is in the early Singing Cowboy features that one can, perhaps, best explore the synthesis of elements of traditional and popular culture. In the next few paragraphs the role of such films in the Singing Cowboy tradition will receive cursory examination.

The first country singer to perform in a commercial talking film was probably Jimmie Rodgers, who appeared in a 1928 Columbia Pictures production entitled *The Singing Brakeman*.⁴ In this eight-minute film Rodgers played guitar and sang three songs ("Waiting for a Train," "T for Texas," and "Dear Old Dad"), the latter two of which were also recorded for RCA Victor.

Since at least that time there has been a symbiotic relationship between artists' popularity through the media of phonograph records, radio shows, personal appearances, and film performances. Popularity in one media has often led to success in another. The last three entertainment formats differ from the first, however, and are perhaps more allied with each other in that they demand a visual stage presence not required for making a disc recording. Thus, the cultivation of "stage proven" dress, demeanor, and comic antics helped the artists to make successful transitions from one musical performance media to another.

The myriad ingredients out of which many country performance styles were shaped came from

sources such as vaudeville, burlesque, minstrel shows, and Tin Pan Alley. Similarly, the Singing Cowboy tradition which Rodgers helped to popularize was bred of a mixture of popular and traditional influences including the cowboy song tradition, elements from romantic novels of the West like Owen Wistler's *The Virginian* (1902) and Zane Grey's *Riders of the Purple Sage*, and the fledgling western film genre.⁵

By the early 1930s Ken Maynard (an authentic cowboy who had performed riding and rope tricks with the Kit Carson and Pawnee Bill shows and had recorded eight cowboy songs for Columbia in 1930) was established as cinema's first singing cowboy star. Maynard played guitar, old-time style fiddle, and sang songs which he had learned on the plains in features like *Strawberry Roan* (Universal 1933) and *The Fiddlin' Buckaroo* (Universal 1933).⁶

In 1934 Gene Autry was introduced to movie audiences, subsequently giving catharsis to a growing public interest in the West. As images of the West and cowboys became more romanticized by various media, cowboy songs both reflected and helped to perpetuate this stereotyping. Songs like "Home On the Range," "I'm Back in the Saddle Again," and "Boots and Saddles" became trademarks of the Autry cinema style and set the tone for the rash of western songs to be penned by composers like Bob Nolan and Billy Hill. Douglas Green, scholar of country music, describes how these cowboy songs differed from ones that preceded.

These "new" songs were concerned not with the life of the cowboy [as were more traditional cowboy songs], but with the romance of the West as an entity in and of itself. Entirely apart from the life or even existence of the cowboy except by implication, they dealt with the beauty of its haunting scenery and in spiritual rather than earthly terms.⁷

The proven popularity of the song/action format encouraged studios such as Monogram, Republic, Universal, Paramount, and Warner Brothers to recruit successful recording artists and radio show performers for the screen. Counting on ready-made markets in the form of these singers' fans, the film producers kept a steady flow of new sets of vocal chords ready for the film market. By the mid- to late-1940s the western with music was such a popular phenomenon that stars like Harpo Marx, Bing Crosby, and Louis Armstrong were performing in them.⁸ By 1954 a combination of the effects of television, the public's demand for more action-oriented films with less music, and changing musical trends brought production of the Singing Cowboy movies to a slow halt. Traces of the genre were carried on in the form of western musicals such as *River of No Return* (20th Century-Fox, 1954) in which Marilyn Monroe sings pseudo-western songs. For the most

part, however, the singing cowboy disappeared from motion pictures.

This short examination of the Singing Cowboy tradition is not intended to be an exhaustive explication. It is offered instead as an illustration of the value of country music in film as a resource for understanding important issues in the study of country music. This synopsis also carries the implication that further study of the visual elements of country music performance is necessary.

The proliferation of mechanical recording devices in the twentieth century has aided scholars of American traditional music immensely. The products and evidence of devices such as audio tape, disc, and cylinder recordings have proven useful to researchers in their attempts to uncover cultural, textual, and technological docu-

ments. To date, though, students of country music have somewhat neglected the visual documentation of performers and performances. While photographs have been used frequently as a resource for discerning information about country music artists and their performance styles, films of performers have received little attention. When country music has been investigated or showcased on film or video the emphasis has generally been on documenting traditional Appalachian musicians.

In summary, commercial films may be found to be a rich source for country music scholars. Many questions regarding country music history may be raised and answered by examination of this data. Research can also be facilitated by the compilation of a comprehensive index of songs and artists which have appeared in film.

--Willie J. Smyth
University of California
Los Angeles, CA

NOTES

1. The most thorough analyst of songs in commercial films is Douglas B. Green, "The Singing Cowboy," *Journal of Country Music* VII, 2 (May 1978).
2. See Charles Wolfe, *The Grand Ole Opry* (London: Old Time Music, 1975); Willie Smyth, "Early Knoxville Radio (1921-42): WNOX and the Midday Merry Go-Round," *JEMFQ* XVIII, 67/68 (Fall/Winter 1982), pp. 109-116; and Bill C. Malone, "Radio & Personal Appearances: Sources and Resources," *Western Folklore* XXX, 3 (July 1971), pp. 215-226.
3. Mark Cantor of Beverly Hills, California, a collector of early films, explained what Soundies were in an interview 7 June 1983: "Soundies were developed for the Mills Jukebox Company of Chicago who came up with the idea of making machines which would show films and play music. Their product was called the Panoram, a contraption approximately seven feet tall, having an 18" x 22" screen, with an RCA projector at the base which would project through a series of three mirrors onto the back of a ground glass screen. People viewing this would be standing at the front of the machine. The Panoram was placed in bars, hotel and motel lobbies, airport terminals, or wherever large numbers of people would congregate. Soundies came about as a response to the need for a product which would fill these machines. At the beginning of the phenomenon in 1941, most Soundies were made by a production company called RCM (Jimmy Roosevelt, Sam Coslow, and Mills) which put out approximately five or six Soundies per week. These were made in Los Angeles; possibly some were also made in New York. RCM, however, did not have the capacity to fit the growing needs of Soundie audiences, consequently other companies such as Minoco, Camec, and Film Craft, either independently or under contract to RCM, began to supply the Panoram. Between 1941-47 approximately 2800 Soundies were made. Out of these, approximately 122 were labeled 'Hillbilly' or 'Western' by the company."
4. The earliest silent film of country musicians was probably a movie of the Henry Ford Dance Orchestra made by the Edison Company in the early 1920s. In addition, early newsreels of fiddlers at conventions predate the Rodgers's film.
5. The cowboy song tradition was itself a result of the blending of traditional songs and songs or texts composed by Eastern poets. These were published in books like John Lomax's *Cowboy Songs and Other Frontier Ballads* (1910) and further disseminated throughout America via phonograph

records, such as Carl Sprague's August 1925 recording of "When the Work's All Done This Fall" (Victor 19747), and through radio performers such as Arkie the Arkansas Woodchopper (Luther Ossenbrink) and Gene Autry on WLS (Chicago), Sheriff Loyal Underwood's Arizona Wranglers on KNX (Los Angeles), or the Beverly Hillbillies on KMPC (Los Angeles).

6. Ken Griffis, "The Ken Maynard Story," *JEMFQ* IX, 30 (Summer 1973), pp. 67-70.
7. Green, op. cit., pp. 8-9.
8. Marx appeared in *Go West* (MGM 1940); Crosby had appeared in westerns as early as 1936 when he sang in Paramount's *Rhythm on the Range*; and Louis Armstrong also appeared in a number of westerns including *Cowboy Cavalier* (Monogram 1948).



A PRELIMINARY INDEX OF COUNTRY MUSIC ARTISTS
AND SONGS IN COMMERCIAL MOTION PICTURES (1928-1953)

Part 1

by

Willie Smyth

This index is a response to the need for research into country music and/or country musicians recorded on film from 1928 to 1953. During this period approximately 700 country-oriented commercial feature-length films, musical shorts, and Soundie pictures were made containing approximately 150 performers and nearly 3,000 songs. Since it is doubtful that a complete index of all of these films, songs, and titles can ever be compiled by one person, I have chosen to present this work in its "in progress" form in the hope that researchers will find it useful as well as in the hope that they will contribute to its further completion.

The information presented here has been gathered from an extensive list of resources including album jacket notes, song folios, movie reviews, and such publications as *Variety Weekly*, *The New York Times*, and country music reference works such as Linnell Gentry's *A History and Encyclopedia of Country, Western, and Gospel Music* (Nashville, 1969), articles, and personal interviews. Reliance upon secondary sources may have lead to errors of inclusion and exclusion, which may ultimately be detectable only by viewing the films themselves.

Three different kinds of movies are listed: feature-length pictures which are generally about one hour in length and contain a mixture of drama and songs; the musical short of ten to twenty minutes duration, consisting primarily of musical selections; and the Soundie pictures which were made to be shown on a jukebox with a screen, and contained several songs per reel.

Criteria for inclusion as country musicians or songs are somewhat loosely applied in this index. Artists not normally considered to be country performers are included if they sang country songs; and some popular songs are included if they are performed by a country artist. This flexible use of the term country is necessary in this context because of the overlap of musical genres during the era examined. It is in the country music of the 1930s and 1940s that one can best witness and research the interplay of popular entertainment forms and elements of folk culture. Many of the Singing Cowboy films listed here demonstrate the frequent crossover of folk and popular traditions.

A twenty-five-year span is covered, beginning with Jimmie Rodgers's 1928 Columbia short *The Singing Brakeman* and culminating with the Singing Cowboy films which were being phased out in the early 1950s. From this date the new interest in television, the public demands for more action-oriented films with less music, and changing musical trends resulted in a greatly-diminished number of films containing country music being released.*

Feature-length films and musical shorts containing country artists or songs are listed alphabetically, followed by name of producing studio and date of release (where known). Next, performing artists are listed in no particular order, followed by a list of songs known to be in the film. These last two listings are incomplete in two ways: first, in general, only names of leading vocalists and groups are presented. In a more thorough film-musicography complete recording personnel would be listed. Second, only a small portion (one-third to one-half) of the songs appearing in these films has been identified and included. It is hoped that readers will be able to identify artists, songs, and films not included here and will contribute to this ongoing project.

Abbreviations of Studios

Allied Artists (AA)	Paramount (PMT)
Columbia (COL)	Pine & Thorn (P/T)
Crown-International (CI)	Principal/Fox (P/FOX)
Eagle Lion (EL)	Republic (REP)
First National (FN)	Sack Enterprises (S/E)
Friedgen (FRIE)	Screen Guild (SG)
Grand National (GN)	Spectrum Pictures (S/P)
Hollywood (HW)	Three Crown (T/C)
Liberty (LIB)	Twentieth Century-Fix (20th)

*(This includes a number of Nashville-based hillbilly musicals, which I have omitted here)

Abbreviations (cont.)

Lippert (LPT)
 Mack Sennett (M/S)
 Mascot (MAS)
 Monogram (MON)
 Ormand (ORM)

United Artists (UA)
 Universal Studios (UNIV)
 Universal-International (UI)
 Victory (VIC)
 Warner Brothers (WB)

Abilene Town (UA, 1946); Ann Dvorak

All You Gotta Do
 Every Time I Give My Heart
 I Love It Out Here in the West

Across the Rio Grande (MON, 1949); Jimmy Wakely

Along the Navaho Trail (REP, 1945); Roy Rogers

Cool Water
 Savin' for a Rainy Day

Along the Oregon Trail (REP, 1947); Monte Hale,
 Foy Willing & the Riders of the Purple Sage

Pretty Little Pink
 Sweet Betsy from Pike

Along the Rio Grande (RKO, 1941); Ray Whitley,
 Betty Jean Rhodes

Along the Santa Fe Trail (WB, 1940); Rex Allen

Along the Santa Fe Trail

Along the Sundown Trail (PRC, 1942); Bill Boyd
 and the Cowboy Ramblers

Apache Country (COL, 1952); Gene Autry

Cold, Cold Heart
 Covered Wagon Rolls Right Along
 Crime Will Never Pay
 I Love to Yodel

Apache Rose (REP, 1947); Roy Rogers, Dale Evans,
 Sons of the Pioneers

Apache Rose
 Jose
 Ride Vacquero
 There's Nothing Like Coffee in the Morning
 Wishing Well

Arizona Cowboy (REP, 1950); Rex Allen

Arizona Cyclone (UNIV, 1942); The Notables,
 Johnny Mack Brown

Let's Go
 On the Trail of Tomorrow
 Wooden Leg Pete

Arizona Days (GN, 1937); Tex Ritter

Arizona Days
 High, Wide & Handsome

In Sunny Spain
 Looking for Love
 Tombstone, Arizona

Arizona Frontier (MON, 1940); Tex Ritter, Art
 Wilcox & His Arizona Wranglers

Red River Valley
 Wastin' Time

Arizona Kid (REP, 1938); Roy Rogers

Arizona Stagecoach (MON, 1942); John "Dusty" King

Arizona Trail (UNIV, 1943); Johnny Bond and the
 Red River Valley Boys, Tex Ritter, Fuzzy Knight

The Devil's Gonna Laugh
 Let's Go
 Ridin' Down to Santa Fe
 Stars of the Midnight Range
 Stay Away from My Heart

Back in the Saddle (REP, 1941); Gene Autry

Back in the Saddle
 I'm an Old Cowhand
 Where the River Meets the Range
 You Are My Sunshine

Bad Man from Red Butte (UNIV, 1940); Bob Baker

Where the Prairie Meets the Sky

Bad Man of Deadwood (REP, 1941); Roy Rogers

Call of the Dusty Trail
 Home on the Rangeland
 Joe O'Grady

Bad Men of Missouri (WB, 1941); Dennis Morgan

Darling Nellie Gray

Bad Men of Tombstone (AA, 1948); Julie Gibson

Girl on the Flying Trapeze

Bad Men of the Hills (COL, 1942); Cliff Edwards,
 Norma Jean Wooters

Lady Bug

Badlands of Dakota (UNIV, 1941); Jesters (Dwight
 Latham, Walter Carlson, Guy Bonham)

Bandit Ranger (RKO, 1942); Cliff Edwards

Bandit Trail (RKO, 1941); Ray Whitley

The Bandit Trail

Banjo on My Knee (20th, 1936); Buddy Ebsen, The Hall Johnson Choir

Banjo on My Knee
St. Louis Blues
Sippy
There's Something in the Air
Where the Lazy River Goes By

Bar 20 Rides Again (PMT, 1936); Jimmy Ellison

When the Moon Hangs High

Barbed Wire (COL, 1952); Gene Autry

Ezekiel Saw the Wheel
Mexicali Rose

The Barrier (PMT, 1937); William Boyd (Hop-along Cassidy)

Moonlight Paradise

Bells of Capistrano (REP, 1942); Gene Autry, Smiley Burnette

At Sundown
Don't Bite the Hand that Feeds You
Forgive Me
Old Capistrano
Uncle Sam patter

Bells of Coronado (REP, 1950); Dale Evans, Roy Rogers, Foy Willing & the Riders of the Purple Sage

Bells of Coronado
Got No Time For the Blues
Save a Smile For a Rainy Day

Bells of Rosarita (REP, 1945); Sons of the Pioneers, Roy Rogers, Mitchell Boys Choir

Gonna Build a Fence around Texas
Trail Herdin' Cowboy
Under a Blanket of Blue

Bells of San Angelo (REP, 1947); Roy Rogers, Dale Evans, Sons of the Pioneers

A Cowboy's Dream of Heaven
Bells of San Angelo
Hot Lead
I Like to Get up Early in the Morning
I Love the West

Beyond Pecos (UNIV, 1946); Ray Whitley & the Bar 6 Cowboys

Beyond the Purple Hills (COL, 1950); Gene Autry

Beyond the Purple Hills
Dear Hearts and Gentle People
The Girl I Left Behind

The Big Show (REP, 1936); Gene Autry, Smiley Burnette, Jones Boys, Sons of the Pioneers, Light Crust Doughboys, Beverly Hillbillies

Lady Known as Lulu
Mad About You
Roll Wagon Roll

Big Sombrero (COL, 1949); Gene Autry

Clementine
Goodbye Old Mexico
In My Adobe Hacienda
La Golondrina
No Word Did I Hear
Rancho Pillow
Thankful for Small Favors
Trail to Mexico
You Belong to My Heart

Billy the Kid (Returns) (REP, 1938); Roy Rogers, Smiley Burnette, Pickard Family

Born to the Saddle
Dixie Instrument Song
Give Me the Range
Sing a Little Song about Anything
Trail Blazin'
When I Camped Under the Stars
When the Sun is Settin' on the Prairie

Black Bandit (UNIV, 1939); Bob Baker

A Cowboy's Song for Sale
Dry and Dusty
My Old Painted Pony an' Me

Black Hills (PRC, 1947); Eddie Dean and the Plainsmen (Andy Parker, Earl Murphy, Paul Smith, George Bamby, Charles Morgan)

Blazing Across the Pecos (COL, 1948); Red Arnold & the Western Aces

Blazing Sixshooters (COL, 1940); Sons of the Pioneers

Blazing Sun (COL, 1950); Gene Autry

Along the Navaho Trail
Brush those Tears from Your Eyes

Blazing the Western Trail (COL, 1945); Bob Wills & His Texas Playboys

Blue Canadian Rockies (COL, 1952); Gene Autry, Carolina Cotton, Cass County Boys

Anytime
Blue Canadian Rockies
Froggie Went Courtin'
Lovin' Ducky Daddy
Mama Don't Like Music
Old Chisholm Trail
Yodel, Yodel, Yodel

Blue Montana Skies (REP, 1939); Gene Autry, Walt Shrum & the Colorado Hillbillies

Away Out Yonder
'Neath the Blue Montana Sky
I Just Want You
Old Geezer
Rockin' in the Saddle All Day

The Blue Rodgers with Cordelia Mayberry (1929, Short)

Bob Wills & His Texas Playboys (WB, 1944)

Mama Don't Allow
My Adobe Hacienda
New San Antonio Rose
Ride on My Prairie Pinto
Smith's Reel

Boots and Saddles (REP, 1937); Gene Autry, Smiley Burnette

Boots and Saddles
Cielito Lindo
You're the Only Rose that's Left in My Heart

Border Fence (ASTOR, 1951); George "Shug" Fisher, Jerry O'Dell & His Band

Border G-Man (RKO, 1938); Ray Whitley

I'm Back in the Saddle Again

Border Legion (REP, 1940); Roy Rogers

Git Along Little Dogies
With My Guitar and You

Border Outlaws (UI, 1950); Spade Cooley

Border Patrolman (P/FOX, 1936); Smiley Burnette

Frog Tupples

Border Saddlemates (REP, 1952); Rex Allen, Republic Rhythm Riders

The Old Ark's A-Hoverin'
Roll on Border Moon
Wait for the Wagon

Border Vigilantes (PMT, 1941); Frances Gifford

Boss of Hangtown Mesa (UNIV, 1942); Fuzzy Knight, J. M. Brown, Pals of the Golden West w/Nora Lou Martin

Ain't Got Nothin'
Pappy Was a Gun Man
Song of the Prairie
Trail Dreamin'

Brand of Fear (MON, 1949); Jimmy Wakely

Brazil (REP, 1944); Roy Rogers

Hands Across the Border

Breezing Home (UNIV, 1937); Wendy Barrie

I'm Hitting the Hot Spots
You're in My Heart Again

The Buckaroo (MON, n/d); Tex Ritter

I Promise You

A Buckaroo Broadcast (RKO Short, 1938); Ray Whitley

Bullets for Bandits (COL, 1942); Tex Ritter

Reelin', Rockin', Rollin' Down the Trail
Somewhere on the Lake Prairie
Wany My Boots on When I Die

Bullets for Rustlers (COL, 1940); Sons of the Pioneers

Cactus Caravan (UI, 1950); Tex Williams & His Western Caravan

Cactus Cowboy (SP, 1944)

Kickin' My Love Around

California Firebrand (REP, 1948); Monte Hale, Foy Willing & the Riders of the Purple Sage

California Gold Rush (REP, 1946); Dick Curtis

California Mail (WB, 1936); Dick Foran, Sons of the Pioneers

Love Begins at Evening

California Passage (REP, 1950); Estelita Rodriguez

I'm Goin' 'Round in Circles
Second-Hand Romance

Call of the Canyon (REP, 1942); Gene Autry, Smiley Burnette, Sons of the Pioneers, Ruth Terry

Boots and Saddles
Call of the Canyon
Montana Skies
Somebody Else is Takin' My Place
When It's Chilly Down in Chile

Call of the Prairie (PMT, 1936); Jimmy Ellison

Call of the Prairie

Call of the Rockies (COL, 1938); Sons of the Pioneers, Donald Grayson

A Cowboy Has to Sing
Following the Sun All Day
The Hangin' Blues
Reprise
There's Going to be a Hangin'
You Ain't Heard Nothing 'til You Hear
that Man Roar

- Canyon Passage (UNIV, 1946); Hoagy Carmichael
Ole Buttermilk Sky
- Caravan Trail (PRC, 1946); Eddie Dean
Wagon Wheels
- Carolina Moon (REP, 1940); Gene Autry, Smiley
Burnette, Jimmie Lewis & His Texas Cowboys
At the Rodeo
Carolina Moon
Dreams that Don't Come True
Say Si Si
- Carson City Kid (REP, 1940); Roy Rogers
Are You the One?
Gold Digger's Song
Sonora Moon
- Cattle Raiders (COL, 1938); Sons of the Pioneers
Devil's Great Grandson
Happy Cowboy
This Ain't the Same Old Range
Welcome to the Spring
- Cattle Town (WB, 1952); Dennis Morgan
The Bonnie Blue Flag
The Cowboy
Dixie
Marching Through Georgia
- Challenge of the Range (COL, 1949); Smiley
Burnette
The Old Oaken Bucket (parody)
- Check Your Guns (PRC, 1948); Eddie Dean
- Cherokee Strip (WB, 1937); Dick Foran
My Little Buckaroo
- Cheyenne (WB, 1947); Janis Paige
Going Back to Old Cheyenne
I'm So in Love
- Cheyenne Cowboy (UNIV Short, 1949); Tex Williams,
Deuce Spriggins, Smokey Rogers
That Good Old Western Music
- Cheyenne Rides Again (VIC, 1938); Jimmy Fox
Storybook Cowboy
- Cheyenne Roundup (UNIV, 1943); Tex Ritter,
Jimmy Wakely Trio
- Chip of the Flying U (UNIV, 1938); Bob Baker
Git Along
Ride On
- Cliff Edwards & His Musical Buckaroos (WB
Short, 1941)
- Code of the Lawless (UNIV, 1946); Fuzzy Knight
- Code of the West (RKO, 1947); Coral Forman, John
Laurenz
Oo La La
Rainbow Valley
- Colorado (REP, 1940); Roy Rogers
- Colorado Serenade (PRC, 1946); Eddie Dean, Roscoe
Ates
- Colorado Sundown (REP, 1952); Rex Allen, Republic
Rhythm Riders
- Colorado Sunset (REP, 1939); Patsy Montana, Gene
Autry, Smiley Burnette, CBS-KMBC Rangers
Colorado Sunset
On Our Merry Old Way Back Home
Poor Little Dogies
Seven Years With the Wrong Woman
Vote for Autry
- Colorado Trails (COL, 1938); Sons of the Pioneers
Bound for the Rio Grande
Cottage in the Clouds
Lone Buckaroo
- Come On Rangers (REP, 1938); Roy Rogers
I've Learned A Lot About Women
Tenting Tonight
A Western Love Song
- Coming 'Round the Mountain (REP, 1936); Gene
Autry
Chiquita
Don Juan of Seville
When the Campfire is Low on the Prairie
- Coming of the West (REP, n/d); Gene Autry
Cowboy Blues
Cowpoke Poking Along
Fetch Me My Trusty Forty-Five
Five Minutes Late and One Dollar Short
- Coming 'Round the Mountain (PMT, 1940); Uncle
Ezra Walters
- Copper Canyon (PMT, 1950)
Copper Canyon
- Country Fair (REP, 1941); Lulubelle & Scotty,
Whitey Ford, Vass Family, Harold Peary,
Simp Phonies
Mornin' on the Farm
- Courage of the West (UNIV, 1937); Bob Baker
Ranger's Song
Restin' Beside the Trail
Song of the Trail
- Courtin' Trouble (MON, 1948); Jimmy Wakely, Fid-
dlin' Arthur Smith, Louis Armstrong, "Cannon-
ball" Taylor
Montana Moon



Flatt and Scruggs and the Foggy Mountain Boys.

FLATT & SCRUGGS RELEASES, RE-RELEASES, AND REISSUES: PREEMINANT, THEN AS NOW

by

SCOTT HAMBLY

[Scott Hamby earned his Ph.D. in Folklore and Folklife at the University of Pennsylvania in 1977. He currently teaches Bluegrass Banjo, Bluegrass Guitar, and Bluegrass Ensembles in adult schools in Northern California, as well as working as a medical-technical editorial assistant for the Clinical Investigation Center, Oak Knoll Naval Hospital, Oakland, California. During the 1950s and sixties, Hamby performed on the mandolin in bluegrass bands throughout California.]

Within the last five or six years reissue albums of bluegrass music performed by Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs and the Foggy Mountain Boys have proliferated. Some of the albums which have come to my attention are: *The Golden Years: Lester Flatt & Earl Scruggs with the Foggy Mountain Boys*, County CCS 101, Country Classics Series, manufactured by CBS Records, P-13810 (New York and Floyd, VA, 1977); *The Golden Era*, Rounder Special Series 05, manufactured by CBS Records, P 13826 (New York and Somerville, MA, 1977); *The Golden Hits of Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs*, Starday Powerpak P 0297 (1977); *Blue Ridge Cabin Home*, County in association with CBS Records, P-14370 (New York and Floyd, VA, 1978). Some of the pirate albums currently available at select music stores include: *The Vintage Years*, Vol. 2, CC-LP 10 (n.p., n.d.); *Les & Earl on Radio*, 1957, featuring Hylo Brown, Buck Graves, Paul Warren, Curly Sechler (sic), Limited Edition, CC-LP 13 (n.p., n.d.); and *Flatt & Scruggs: 1958-1959*, CC 4 (n.p., n.d.). The three recent sets I shall review here are: *Flatt & Scruggs*, Columbia Historic Edition FC 37469 (1982); *Don't Get Above Your Raisin'*, Rounder Special Series 08/Columbia P 14816 (1979); and *Country & Western Classics: Flatt & Scruggs*, Time-Life Records in association with Columbia Records, P 316154 (1982).

In the discussion to follow, I define *re-release* to mean a title pressed from a master and marketed for the first time by the record company with whom the artist(s) had contractual obligations at the time the master was made. *Re-release* denotes another pressing of a title from the same master by the original proprietary company. *Re-issue* denotes a pressing of a title--or an entire set--from the same master(s) initiated by a person or persons extrinsic to the original recording company. The temporal distance between release and re-release is usually much shorter than the relative time between either release or re-release and reissue.

Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs, together with their former leader, Bill Monroe, formed the two most influential bands in the history of bluegrass music, the Foggy Mountain Boys and the Blue Grass Boys. If the "father of bluegrass," Bill Monroe, established much of the basic instrumentation, aesthetic guidelines and precepts, vocal standards and configurations, subject matter and

themes, and technical standards of excellence of the genre we now call bluegrass, then among his many "sons," or accomplished sidemen, Flatt and Scruggs reinforced, refined, and expanded part of the nature of bluegrass itself.

Still, some readers who are well aware of Flatt and Scruggs may ask, "Why the spate of reissues? Do we really need them?" While it is known that Flatt and Scruggs ceased playing together professionally when they dissolved their partnership in early 1969, and that Flatt himself is dead (11 May 1979), their talents were once familiar to many people--and for good reason.

Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs have been two of the most significant performers and innovators in the history of bluegrass music. They were participants in the very coalescence of bluegrass with the redoubtable Bill Monroe in 1945 and 1946. They were not only consistent, acknowledged professionals, but became foremost exponents and trendsetters of the style we call bluegrass. They refined and diversified bluegrass and became role models for contemporaries and tyros alike.

Flatt and Scruggs toured exhaustively with their band throughout the United States; had a daily fifteen-minute radio show on WSM, beginning in June 1953; began in January 1955 a daily syndicated television show (usually taped by WSM-TV, both shows sponsored by Martha White Mills); were favorite traditional music members of WSM's "Grand Ole Opry"; capitalized on the recent American folk music revival, catering to the urban "folk audience" by modifying their repertoire to include more folkish songs and simpler instrumental techniques, eventually winning occasional national television exposure and recognition at major folk festivals; played the musical background and theme (sometimes foreground in story segments in which they participated as guests) to the "Beverly Hillbillies" television series; and licensed their 1949 version of "Foggy Mountain Breakdown" for use as the theme to *Bonnie and Clyde*.¹

Some of their illustrious sidemen included Mac Wiseman, Benny Martin, Everette Lilly, Buck Graves, and Curley Seckler--all of whom were among the very best in their specialty and themselves became band leaders or co-leaders after

departing the folk of the Foggy Mountain Boys. Flatt had the smoothest emcee approach ever used to front a band and host a bluegrass show. Flatt also had a powerful, yet tasteful, thumb-and-forefinger rhythm guitar style the likes of which are seldom heard anymore. Scruggs, of course, nearly singlehandedly championed a new style of three-finger, right-hand picking on the formerly neglected five-string banjo which emphasized a strong melodic line surrounded and supplemented by clusters of subordinate, sequenced patterns of notes. "Scruggs-style banjo" is the eponym and became the virtual synonym for bluegrass banjo.

Among the many "firsts" they have to their credit are: (1) the first use of Scruggs's pegs (preset detuners for the 2nd and 3d strings of the banjo mounted on the peghead which enabled partial or complete chord tuning changes by turning one or both pegs within the stream of the instrumental passage); (2) the first widespread use of a Dobro in a major, full bluegrass band, played sublimely by Buck Graves (stage name: "Uncle Josh"); (3) the first bluegrass band to have used television so extensively; (4) the first band to begin introducing contemporary social settings of the honky-tonk (e.g., "Dim Lights, Thick Smoke (and Wild, Wild Music)"; (5) conjecturally the first bluegrass band to outsell Bill Monroe's records; and (6) to have had the first twelve-inch, long-playing bluegrass album and the first LP album of re-releases--all in the same package (*Country Music*, Mercury MG 20358, released in March 1958).

However, most of these avenues of musical communication have ceased. It is by their records, then, that we shall continue to know them.² I used to estimate that the combined releases of Monroe and Flatt & Scruggs accounted for as high a figure as 80 percent of the commercially available recordings in approximately the first ten to eleven years following the incipience, or coalescence, of the collective sound of bluegrass in 1945. To test this notion I shall examine comparatively bluegrass discographies to determine Flatt and Scruggs's output (hence presumed stature and influence). In conjunction with this discographical survey of bluegrass and reviews of current reissue LPs, I shall try to discover (1) what implications discographical information holds for investigating the nature of Flatt & Scruggs's popularity and (2) *passim* comment on epistemological matters of bluegrass discography, especially that devoted to Flatt and Scruggs.

I have set a limit of 1957 for this examination. I have chosen this arbitrary--and somewhat flexible--limit because most of the bluegrass bands exhibited a general stylistic homogeneity in the middle 1950s. Unifying factors included geographical, cultural, and musical background; implicit or explicit norms, standards, and objectives; unified audience; and ambit of regional performing in the greater southeastern United States.³ Other contributory features justify the

cut-off date of 1957, such as (1) the beginning of important diverging substyles (e.g., the Osborne Brothers and Red Allen specializing in high lead vocals and solid country music in bluegrass guise; the Country Gentlemen, the first band to bridge the city/country gap, who developed a flashy, urbane, highly interactive style of entertaining in personal appearances); (2) the period just before long-playing, 33 1/3-rpm albums of bluegrass were introduced; and (3) the appreciable onset of the folk music revival with its attendant direct and indirect influences on those who were playing bluegrass.

Consider the following discographical statistics to gain an overview of recording activities (i.e., releases) of major bluegrass bands from 1946 to the end of 1957 or early 1958.⁴

Bill Monroe (w/Flatt & Scruggs)	26 titles
Bill Monroe (after F&S)	74 by 11/57
Flatt & Scruggs (including the 26 done with Monroe, 1946-47)	112 by 7/57
Don Reno & Red Smiley	84 by late '57 early '58
Stanley Brothers	70 by end/'57
Mac Wiseman (some, including his transition into popular commercial songs, e.g., "The Ballad of Davey Crockett," with only the slightest vestiges of bluegrass instrumentation or style.)	ca 55 by early '58
Osborne Brothers (Bob and Sonny together)	40 by 7/57
Jim & Jesse McReynolds (excluding reputed back-up w/Renfro Family on Kentucky Records.)	26 by end/'57
Bill Clifton (though recorded by 11/57, a few were released after the close of 1957)	21 by 11/57

The combined efforts of Flatt and Scruggs with Bill Monroe from 1946 to the end of 1957 was 112 plus 74 = 186 released, or 37 percent of the bluegrass titles ostensibly available. Flatt and Scruggs's career total (including 26 titles released as members of Monroe's Blue Grass Boys), 1946-1957, was 112, or 22 percent of the bluegrass titles available. All other bands cited above had a combined total of 321 titles, or 63 percent of the bluegrass songs or tunes available by the end of 1957 or in early 1958.

In the 1950s other bands were also releasing singles, but have suffered discographic neglect. Most of these bands include the following notables: the Lonesome Pine Fiddlers, Hylo Brown, the Country Pardners, Jim Eanes, Carl Sauceman, Jimmy Martin, Carl Story, and, beginning in 1957, the Country Gentlemen. It is thus obvious that

the number and percentage of titles by others is even greater than stated above. It is unfortunate that the existing state of discography of bluegrass music does not adequately treat these bands, and that useful release information on them is not precise or generally known. Nevertheless, the table above includes, with few exceptions, most of the major--and influential--bands by the close of 1957.

These numbers are not to be treated as "hard" history or infallible statistics, for some are educated approximations. Even some of the best discographies, when lacking access to company files, rely on memory and intelligent ratiocination to try to pinpoint recording and release date information. Sometimes even access to company files does not help. Consider Starday, for example, where record keeping of session and release dates was apparently of lesser importance than recording, producing, packaging, and selling the product.

Therefore, my notion of Monroe-Flatt and Scruggs having 80 percent of the available titles was greatly exaggerated. Perhaps my notion was founded intuitively on real availability and actual, lasting puissance, both categories assuredly incapable of precise measurement. With select reservations I conclude that the high quality, spirited, innovated trendsetters recorded by Flatt and Scruggs's (and Monroe's) ensembles were qualitatively and quantitatively disproportionate in terms of influence, especially as judged by examples of imitation, emulation, and re-creation, than the recordings of the other contemporary bands. That is, most of the other bands followed Flatt and Scruggs's and Monroe's repertoire, in many instances literally. The ultimate test, though, is to tally the titles of Flatt and Scruggs tunes and songs which have been adopted by professional recording artists, semiprofessionals, and amateurs to determine how musically appealing, attractive, persuasive, and viable some of Flatt and Scruggs's most popular releases have become--a task I leave for a more ambitious quantifier than myself. I venture that Flatt and Scruggs would share top honors, along with Bill Monroe, for introducing the commonplace repertoire used by most pickers and singers for the first ten--perhaps even the first twenty--years of bluegrass music.

In all fairness to the other coeval bands, I have to point out that Flatt and Scruggs had more exposure than any other band of the period (save possibly Bill Monroe himself) 1946-57 (and beyond). They were on deck at the very outset of bluegrass and received considerable recognition and esteem while they were with the Blue Grass Boys. Flatt and Scruggs made their music accessible on major labels; local, regional, and sometimes national radio and television; on stages throughout the United States; and in the half-dozen picture books and song folios they had available in the 1950s and sixties. There is no doubt about it, they had qualitative releases in

quantity and maximally exercised promotional and public relations opportunities which gave them a distinct advantage over other, competing bands.

Only one facet of their fabulous career is still thriving; that is the re-release and re-issue activities. Flatt and Scruggs were fortunate to have been the first major band to have in one and the same package the first bluegrass LP devoted entirely to their music and what I consider to be the first album of re-releases as well, *Country Music* in March 1958. It is a re-release in the sense that all twelve titles therein had been recorded during Flatt and Scruggs's contractual obligation to Mercury, 1948 through 1950, and all twelve titles had previously been released on singles. Columbia Records followed by only a couple of months with *Foggy Mountain Jamboree* (CL 1019), a fine LP with contemporary Flatt and Scruggs material; the Columbia album was nearly a total re-release concept as well, with two-thirds of the titles having been released earlier as singles. As Flatt and Scruggs's popularity continued to increase, Columbia released in July 1960 another album of previously released single material, *Flatt and Scruggs with the Foggy Mountain Boys* (Harmony 7250). Harmony was a subsidiary label of Columbia Records and featured re-released material exclusively.

A successor Harmony re-release album was released in October 1965, *Kings of Bluegrass: Great Original Recordings Volume 1* (HL 7340).⁵ This re-release LP indirectly gave rise to the first pirate LP of Flatt and Scruggs material, *Kings of Bluegrass Volume 2* (n.p.; 1975?), with notes by the pseudonymous Ben Dover (sic). This anonymous LP of WSM air checks was itself a form of titular parody of and active response to Columbia's own *Kings of Bluegrass Volume 1* whose successor, the implicitly promised Volume 2, was never forthcoming. Since the mid-1970s pirate LPs have been produced with surprising frequency, happily containing excellent "live" show material otherwise unobtainable through normal commercial avenues of supply.

The steady stream of Flatt and Scruggs re-issues and re-releases serve us well to remember the glory days of the band in the 1950s and revitalize our concepts of exciting bluegrass in the traditional manner. Many individuals who play bluegrass now have often lost sight of Flatt and Scruggs's roles in developing bluegrass music; there are still others who are regrettably ignorant of Flatt and Scruggs. A few weeks before writing this review essay I visited a bluegrass record store, a music shop specializing in bluegrass instruments and repairs, and a night spot where live bluegrass was the featured entertainment on Thursday, Friday, and Saturday evenings. In the course of these visits, I directly engaged in conversation with or overheard conversations by people who talked as if they knew what bluegrass was all about. Some people who claimed they knew bluegrass--and some who played a modern, progressive, or swing style of

bluegrass--in the first place did not know who Flatt and Scruggs were and, in the second place, did not know why they should need to know their music. It is my sincere hope that these self-same individuals and others of their ilk have a chance to know a significant part of the stimulating musical past of bluegrass through these recent reissues or other reissues such as those noted at the top of this paper. More importantly, I hope contemporary pickers maintain the drive and spirit evinced by the past masters of the genre.

For collectors and students of bluegrass this is an opportune time to purchase anthologies of the oldies and goodies as well as to hear the music clearer than on the old 78-rpm biscuits. To hear previously unissued titles is historically interesting and satisfies a sense of discographic curiosity. To hear these titles at last allows thoughtful individuals to come to their own conclusions about why these titles were withheld. Most informative for me was to hear chronological developments of one of the superlative bands in a period I like to think was the golden age of traditional bluegrass.

I

Flatt & Scruggs (Columbia Historic Edition FC 37469), copyrighted in 1982, is the most recent production under present consideration. It is relatively less satisfying than the other two products reviewed below. It has the least information on the back cover; there are only ten songs and tunes,⁶ many previously re-released and/or reissued and are by now tantamount to superfluous duplications of the same masters (Why couldn't a few second "takes" have been used just for difference's sake, if nothing else?); faulty cover construction (my review copy was already coming apart at the seams); and incongruous cover design of neo-art deco shapes highlighted by predominant pastels of lavender, yellow, and shaded green--colors never associated with Flatt and Scruggs's professional wardrobe, television sets, predecessor albums, or their sponsors. I did like the newly tinted photograph of Lester and Earl in turn-of-the-fifties short, wide ties and baggy pants with generous cuffs, although I have a suspicion that Lester did not wear pink shirts.

To the album's credit, all recording dates and master numbers, as well as eight release numbers, are provided; to its discredit, no release dates are given.

Of discographical interest are two previously unreleased titles, both recorded in Nashville: "You Put Me on My Feet," which was credited to N. Boggs and N. Rowe (but which just as likely may have been composed by Smiley Burnette), recorded on 5 April 1959 (Master CO 60238); and "Who Knows Right from Wrong," composed by P. (Pearl?) Butler, and recorded on 23 January 1959 (CO 62211). "You Put Me on My Feet (The Day You Took Her off My Hands)" is a novelty song. It consists of a flaccidly humorous play on words

and assumed contrasts in emotional changes. There is a rhumba rhythm--atypical of bluegrass in general and for Flatt and Scruggs in particular--juxtaposed with 4/4 meter, with an intrusive snare drummer playing backbeats in the fashion of maracas. Scruggs has some new (to me) and unusual ideas on his banjo breaks, but they are vitiated, as if he were using an unfamiliar banjo (Vega Pro II?). The effect is not the strong, certain, full picking of earlier sessions, but rather a feeling of hesitancy in places. The five-string banjo used on this number itself may contribute to the inconsistent performance; there is a tight, unresonant sound of what might be an inferior banjo or one which is not properly set up. It definitely does not sound like the Gibson flat-head Mastertones featured on most of the other, superior recordings by Flatt and Scruggs. Overall, this song is innocuous and unremarkable. I have no documentation of its ever becoming part of their personal appearance repertoire--not even for a single season--so I assume there was never any strong attempt to promote it.

Flatt and Scruggs were not averse to utilizing familiar melodies (and moods) paired with different texts to form "new" songs. "Who Knows What's Right from Wrong" has a similar melody and comparable mood to "Satisfied Mind," the mid-1950s nationwide country music hit as performed by Porter Wagoner on RCA Victor. The method of adoption and adaptation is no stranger to processes in folksong, but was/is an especially favored, time-honored publishing tactic in broad-side balladry. For another example by Flatt and Scruggs, consider their own melody to "Cabin in Caroline" which later reappears in "I'm Gonna Settle Down."

"Who Knows Right from Wrong" is slow and undistinguished, a waltz-time lament for a former sweetheart who fell in love with another man who subsequently married her. The attitude of the unsuccessful male suitor is resignedly philosophical and devoid of emotion; there is no moral accusation or assessment of blame. The overall mood and effect of this song is of indifferent ennui. I concede these two songs have provided a limited degree of discographical curiosity and even mystery for those who have been wanting to fill in the empty places in their lists and files. But in the worlds of musical aesthetics and record sales, it is my opinion that these experiments were wisely set aside at the time of their recording in favor of releasing other, more fulfilling contemporary masters such as "Cabin in the Hills,"⁷ also recorded on 5 April 1959, or "Crying My Heart Out Over You" (not included on this disc) recorded on 23 January 1959.

"What's Good about It" and "No Doubt about It" are two songs which were recorded at the same session, 6 May 1956, and were released back to back. The single has been obscure and seems not to have gained much renown among imitators/emulators or even in Flatt and Scruggs's regular repertoire. Both titles feature excellent lead and backup Dobro playing by Buck Graves and

outstanding duets by Lester and Curley Sechler (sic); the latter reason alone justifies their re-release. On this album, "What's Good..." has been given an erroneous master number (CO 56020), one already assigned to "No Doubt about It"; it should be CO 56019. Additionally, there is confusion about the title. In late 1959 Columbia Records provided John Edwards with a list of releases, including recording dates, master numbers, titles, matrix numbers, and catalog numbers for 78-, 45-, and 33 1/2-rpm songs and instrumentals, recorded from 1950 to and including 5 April 1959. In this list the title is: "What's Good for You (Should Be All Right for Me)." The song's text confirms the sense of the latter by having the full phrase, "What's good for you, should be all right for me," as the last line of the verses and of the bridge. Nowhere in the song does "What's good about it" appear.

"No Doubt about It" is not a memorable song. The song amounts to little more than a catalog of one's sweetheart's appreciated traits and characteristics. It is simply too weak in substance, even for a lyric love song. Earl's banjo is de-emphasized and scarcely audible throughout the song. Graves, Flatt, and Sechler (sic) save the performance from total musical oblivion, but breadth and depth are ultimately wanting.

A less knowledgeable--and possibly more critical--reviewer would deprecate the notes by John Hartford, a fine five-string banjo picker and showman himself, and welcome friend in the Scruggs home. At first glance, Hartford writes more about himself than of Flatt and Scruggs. However, his ability to remember favorably how Scruggs particularly and the Foggy Mountain Boys as a whole profoundly benefited his musical life echoes and recapitulates the same moving experience for thousands of other fans and musical aspirants, beginning in the late 1940s and continuing through the early 1960s.

II

Don't Get above Your Raisin' (Rounder Special Series 08; 1979, Columbia patent no. 14816) was produced in association with and under license from Columbia Special Products, CBS Record Division, Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., New York City.⁸ Titles included are: "We Can't Be Darlings Anymore," "Don't Get above Your Raisin'," "My Darling's Last Goodbye," "Get in Line Brother (If You Want to Go Home)," "Why Did You Wander," "Thinking about You," "You're Not a Drop in the Bucket," and five others cited in the body of the following review. All selections were recorded in Nashville, spanning the period 21 November 1950 (their first session for Columbia) to and including 19 May 1954. All masters were issued from January 1951 through September 1954, initially on Columbia 78-rpm discs.

The twelve songs and instrumentals were programmed by compiler Richard K. Spottswood in

roughly chronological order (with a few anachronistic orderings; "I'm Gonna Settle Down" and "Reunion in Heaven" are out of ideal, chronological sequence). I heartily approve of the chronological approach to reissues. One advantage is that the auditor can hear representational years of this ensemble's evolution presented in a very short time. Other analytical advantages of this programming lie in the following perceptible categories: (1) musical production (balance of voices and instruments, phrasing synchrony and blend, tightness of harmony parts); (2) technical aspects of recording and reissue (e.g., implications for engineering, quality control, indications of re-mastering, etc.); (3) historical vocal and instrumental developments; (4) trends of thematic material; (5) the extent to which changes in sidemen may or may not have affected the overall sound and shaped their own specific ensemble roles or function slots.

Flatt and Scruggs's popular appeal and commercial vitality can be measured, in part, by their many 45-rpm, EP, and LP re-releases. All twelve selections on *Don't Get above Your Raisin'* have been previously re-released legitimately (as contrasted with illegitimately, or pirate, re-issue LPs, of which there are possibly a half-dozen). In addition to 78-rpm initial pressings, all titles herein considered (except "Come Back, Darling") were pressed at least once as a 45; "'Tis Sweet to Be Remembered" was pressed for two different 45s; "Foggy Mountain Special" was on two 45s and two EPs.

The exact re-release marketing strategy used by Columbia and Flatt & Scruggs is not specifically known. Presumably titles which were superior sellers were re-introduced to the mostly Southeastern market as a reflection of prior encouraging sales and as a measure to "get more mileage" out of the old "war-horses" (cum evergreens in bluegrass). Another possibility is that as the new speeds, new forms of discs, and improved audio fidelity became technologically available and judged to be feasible for distribution (i.e., enough people had record players which would play 45s and 33s), the majority of Flatt and Scruggs masters were trotted out and re-released for virtually the same--and growing--audience.

Likewise, we are ignorant of Flatt and Scruggs's and Columbia's title-by-title perceptions of public receptivity, as well as of the conditions under which and the extent to which they exercised those perceptions as options to re-release. In hindsight, we can deduce the results of their decisions by counting the number of legitimate Columbia re-releases. Additionally, audio disc and tape air checks provide valuable dated, regionalized, and contextual evidence. By analyzing these documents of performances we can reasonably speculate upon other indicators of popularity, some or all of which may have been taken into consideration by Flatt and Scruggs and Columbia in making decisions about re-releases.

Those possible indicators are the following: (1) the frequency of repeat performances on radio, television, or both; (2) the number of requests for specific titles at live shows; (3) the extent to which a select title receives applause which is long and loud; and (4) if that applause is recognized and duly honored by the band with an encore of part or all of the same selection.

Yet despite extensive discographical research and the employment of other surveys, the extent of popularity of individual titles and even of the band as a whole has yet to be exhaustively assayed. The objective facts needed are sales figures for each title. Only Columbia and the Flatt and Scruggs families have this information and none, so far as I know, has ventured to divulge these important figures.

In the course of one of my seminars in folk music under professor D. K. Wilgus at UCLA in 1968, I was attempting to secure hard data to confirm hypotheses of popularity in a term paper, "An Attitudinal Survey of Southern California Bluegrass Music." I wrote to Jimmy Martin and Earl Scruggs in hopes of gaining selective regional sales figures for some of their hit titles. Martin replied exuberantly, but in a sweeping cloak of generalities. Louise Scruggs coolly denied my request, stating that they would not ask me how much money I had in my bank account and disabused me of the notion that I should inquire about part of theirs. Stonewalling notwithstanding, I still maintain that in the absence of hard sales statistics, excellent discography and less formal analytical markers used conjointly can show a general indication of--but lead to further, refined conjecture about--the exact nature of the popularity of specific titles, types of material (instrumentals compared to ballads, blues ballads, folk lyrics, as well as other categories, such as recent compositions vs. more traditional ones); and their relationship to national trends and with parallel or different regional musical trends.

To return to this specific album, the recording quality is very clean and crisp, probably representative of the state of the art of mastering at the time of each recording. Notably absent are any gimmicky attempts to "enhance" the masters' audio product by adding echo, injecting extrinsic loudness, or by deleting selected frequencies--or even larger segments of parts--by using digital equalizers, limiters, and defeat mechanisms.

For those students of the five-string banjo, this LP offers some remarkably distinct, well-reproduced examples of Earl Scruggs's early 1950s styles; his passages are dynamic, powerful, hard-driving, yet relatively easy for the accomplished student to perceive, analyze, and possibly replicate for learning purposes. One can sense from this LP that Scruggs is not yet quite at the peak of his ability to play fluidly, extemporize clever, dextrous, and complex variations of seemingly limitless right-hand rolls and patterns, and effortlessly intersperse multitudes of tasteful,

appropriate back-up licks behind and between vocal phrasings. Nevertheless, there is a lot of good banjo here.

Students of bluegrass fiddle are treated to several cuts of the supremely innovative, avant garde yet tasteful fiddling of Benny Martin in technically superb fettle. Martin was, in my opinion, the most ingenious and inspirational fiddler Flatt and Scruggs ever had as a sideman. Many accomplished bluegrass fiddlers today would do well to listen to how much Martin was able to conceive, combine, recombine, and execute within the traditional frameworks of bluegrass theme and variation.

Neil Rosenberg's extensive notes are an informative delight to read, distilled products of Rosenberg's twenty years of motivated listening, playing, and studying Flatt and Scruggs records and history. (In fact, Rosenberg has written a prodigious 2,304 words of text alone, managed only by beginning print on top of the front cover.) He has morticed a panoply of fact and analysis in a small space, a space on major record label jackets often unenviably strewn with prosaic pap and vacuous filler stitched together with banal intellect. No breezy blurb here; there are discographical facts aplenty (recording and first release dates, as well as session personnel); historical information on select composers's credits; bibliographical references to obscure songbooks published by Flatt and Scruggs in the early 1950s; careful and detailed vocal, instrumental, rhythmic, and tempo descriptions and annotations; select textual and thematic analyses and comparisons; interrelationships between coeval bluegrass musicians and trends; assessments of the significance of some of the important alumni of the Foggy Mountain Boys; and relating the musico-cultural contexts of Flatt and Scruggs to the larger genre of country music as well as to antecedent hillbilly and folk-musical backgrounds. While it is impossible to fit everything that could be written about this LP in so small a space as the back and two-fifths of the front of a single album, Rosenberg has succeeded exceedingly well under the circumstances.

I find little to deprecate here, with the sole exception of the choice of cover art. The cover is an appealing, action color shot of Flatt and Scruggs and the Foggy Mountain Boys in performance on the stage of the Grand Ole Opry. The black-and-white back cover is an informative, yet somehow canned shot of the entire band on the television set for the Martha White shows. My objection is that neither photo of the band is from the 1950-54 era, the focus of the LP, but rather of the early and late 1960s judging from personnel, instruments, wardrobes, and physiognomies.

Don't Get above Your Raisin' is a laudable recent reissue, proving once more the old adage that there's always room at the top for the very best. The careful choice of selections, reissue

engineering and pressing, and superb scholarship duly fete Flatt and Scruggs, veritable kings of bluegrass.

III

Country & Western Classics: Flatt & Scruggs (TLCW-04; a boxed set comprising three LPs--P-316154, P-16155; P-316154, P-16156; and P-316154, P-16157), was produced by Time-Life Records, Alexandria, Virginia, in 1982. The album contains forty selections, together with an excellent companion booklet measuring 9" x 9" and consisting of twenty-six pages, meticulously researched and written by Neil V. Rosenberg. This is the paragon set in this review, nearly an ideal achievement in the field of bluegrass releases.

The scope of this ambitious project is a selective representation of the entire bluegrass musical history of Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs. The set spans Flatt and Scruggs's first recording session as mutual members of Bill Monroe's Blue Grass Boys in 1946 through their attempts to cross over into the fields of folk, folk rock, and rock in the early to late 1960s. To my knowledge, this biomusical chronology is the first to incorporate in one undertaking a majority of the best songs and instrumentals of a particular bluegrass ensemble recorded through several configurations of personnel and contractual affiliations with different recording companies.

The programmed musical sequence represents the flow and ebb of Flatt and Scruggs and generally presents the positive highlights of their remarkable career. The listener is introduced, or re-introduced as the case may be, to the galvanic power as well as artful nuance and sophistication of Flatt and Scruggs's earlier efforts. In the interest of academic fairness, a few representative lesser pieces of their career are also included. This listener was dismayed--then and now--by the lethargic dilution near the end of their partnership; there seemed to be a perceptible loss of direction and control of their product and a consequent loss of vigor and cohesiveness. I understand the commercial objectives involved in trying to popularize their music in other fields and broaden their appeal. Unfortunately, by attempting to adjust and conform to different performance styles which were more extrinsic to their collective background and expertise, they lost in the process the very qualities which made them outstanding. Mercifully, in this set their lesser musical moments are outweighed and outnumbered by their most outstanding contributions to the genre of bluegrass.

The accompanying booklet contains fifteen photographs (some of which may have been previously unpublished) of Flatt and Scruggs's early and/or personal lives as well as band photos. One of the very few factual errors in this booklet appears in the legend to the illustration on page ten, the man holding a five-pound

bag of Martha White flour is not Cohen Williams, the president of Martha White Mills, but rather it is T. Tommy Cutrer, one of the staff announcers for radio station WSM in Nashville, and the regular announcer for many years for Flatt and Scruggs's 5:45 a.m. Martha White radio show.

There are a few oversights, inadvertent or deliberate omissions, probably due to editorial or spatial limitations. I would have preferred to read the exact dates Lester and Earl left Bill Monroe or the date(s) of their last appearance(s) with Monroe. I also would have appreciated more detail on why and how Lester and Earl decided to form a new band; the rationale for calling the band the Foggy Mountain Boys; the point at which Lester and Earl actually considered the band to be viable, either as a concept, a performing unit, or both; the exact date of the new band's first public performance in Hickory, North Carolina, and why this locale was selected for launching a new career.

"Notes on the Music," an appendix to the biographical history, contains accurate dates for each selection's recording, except for five Mercury titles: "God Loves His Children" and "My Cabin in Caroline," both recorded in Knoxville, Tennessee, sometime in 1948; and "Doan' My Time," "Roll in My Sweet Baby's Arms," and "Old Salty Dog Blues," all recorded sometime in October 1950 in Tampa, Florida. Surely with all the vast resources available (including Earl and his wife, Louise Scruggs) to the editors and researchers of the prestigious Time-Life Records group, more precise dates could have been determined. On the other hand, ideals of discographic completeness and exactitude in systematic sets are rarely achieved, even under intense, persistent scrutiny and endeavor by the most diligent scholars.

This reviewer finds inexcusable the consistent absence of release dates for all forty selections. The popular life of a recorded title does not begin until it is released to the populace. Its appeal and influence cannot be adequately assessed until it is accessible to and heard by its public. Hits cannot be determined and "covering" does not usually occur unless musical excellence is recognized and understood outside the confines of the session, band personnel, and recording officials. More important for the genre as a whole, emulative re-creation--potentially including the growth of substyles and fads--normally takes place in the real world and is later presented in the recording and broadcast world after a title is released. This process encompasses not only songs and instrumentals, but also extends to vocal inflections and phrasing, as well as to patterned rolls, instrumental fills, and back-up. Given the putative value ascribed to the provenance and nature of popularity by folklorists, ethnomusicologists, and students of popular culture, there is no conceivable explanation for the omission of release dates in this set. Therefore, the reader of this booklet will have to seek elsewhere for the date at which to begin tracking the popularity of a specific title?

Previously unknown to most, an hypothesis-by-association for the generic term *bluegrass* is suggested on pages eleven to twelve. The term's genesis in American music purportedly took place after Lester and Earl left Bill Monroe's Blue Grass Boys in early 1948 and, more to the point, immediately following formation of the Foggy Mountain Boys. "Fans, of course, requested the music Lester and Earl had done with Monroe. But, having heard that there was a feud between them and Monroe, and not wanting to offend Lester and Earl by mentioning their former boss by name, the fans would ask tactfully for the 'old blue grass songs you used to do.' The name stuck." This hypothesis is partially plausible and may even be defensible (no evidence or source is cited). Yet it cannot solely account for the accretion of musical connotations and denotations attributed to the term *bluegrass*. Bill Monroe had been touring widely and performing extensively with the Blue Grass Boys since 1939, possibly even as early as 1938. The characteristic sound of traditional *bluegrass* has been associated most often with Monroe's band since Lester and Earl joined in 1944 and 1945, respectively. Without doubt, Lester and Earl were two of the four earliest major contributors to the coalescence of *bluegrass* as a distinct sound. (Monroe himself was the prime mover and is recognized as "the father of *bluegrass*"; the fourth "significant other" was Chubby Wise, fiddler.) The inference which might be drawn from the context of this booklet--that *bluegrass* may have been the creation of Flatt and Scruggs--would be academically simplistic and substantially invalid.

On the other hand, this hypothesis may well be part of Rosenberg's ongoing search for the conditions under which the term *bluegrass* became denominative and descriptive of the genre. In the first responsible etymological investigation of the possible processes and conditions, "Into *Bluegrass*: The History of a Word," Rosenberg traces early--and limited--currency of the term to 1953.¹⁰ However, he admits his study is inconclusive and suspects an earlier antecedent explanation. Flatt and Scruggs's fans in 1948 and 1949 may have provided an early indication, but I am still convinced other associations, conceptualizations, and feelings may be more important. The problems are (1) dating incipient uses of the term in a generic sense and (2) assessing accurately the degree of influence of complementary hypotheses. One thing is certain: a multiplicity of factors, conditions, and influences must be considered in order to posit a thorough, adequate, holistic etymology of the term *bluegrass*.

To return from this digression--and to a more positive note--Rosenberg's annotations to each title are outstanding. His predilection for details is optimally utilized in the prose characterizations of music; credits to songwriters; anecdotes about how songs were inspired; how some titles--or whole sessions--had special significance; definitions of folk speech found in lyrics (e.g., "salty dog"); comments on relative

successes, historically important events in the band, and expansion into different media; as well as in descriptive highlights of unusual or augmented instrumentation. Especially notable are the diagram and explanation on page twenty-one of Earl Scruggs's original stopped tuners, used to change the pitch of the 2d and 3d strings of the five-string banjo during the course of instrumentals, such as "Flint Hill Special" and "Earl's Breakdown."

The mysterious and tantalizing appeal of previously unissued titles is known to all discographers and enthusiasts of any artist. Somehow we hold the (usually mistaken) belief that somewhere in the vaults some extraordinary material exists on forgotten masters. However, it is unreasonable for us to expect that a great band, such as that headed by Flatt and Scruggs, would have withheld any songs, arrangements, or instrumentals if they had overall musical-thematic merit and probable commercial potential. In this set we are at last privy to such oddities, "You Put Me on My Feet (When You Took Her off My Hands)" and "I've Lost You Forever." The former was discussed above; apparently both producers were unaware the other was intending to issue this title. At any rate, there is a difference of opinion about who wrote the song; Rosenberg credits Smiley Burnette, but Hartford claims N. Boggs/N. Rowe--a classic whodunit. The official credit for penning "I've Lost You Forever" goes to Burkett (Buck) Graves ("Uncle Josh"), Earl Scruggs, and Lester Flatt; it was recorded in Nashville on 24 April 1960 (master CO-64897). I have a hunch that Buck Graves actually wrote the song, judging from internal textual evidence; he was probably obligated to his co-leaders to share authorship of the song, a common practice between sidemen and leaders in most *bluegrass* bands.

Considered from an aesthetic *gestalt* point of view, both songs and performances are unbalanced, uninteresting, and unconvincing. The engaging textual concepts and band unity, characteristic of most previous releases, are lacking. The exception in these otherwise vapid numbers is the tight, well-balanced and well-blended, powerful vocal trio on "I've Lost You Forever," with Flatt on lead; Curley Sekler, tenor; and Jake Tullock, high baritone--all seemingly singing at the effective top of their respective registers.

Technically the pressings are faultless; the clarity and fidelity of the performances are vastly superior to the original 78s, 45s, and even most of their LPs.

In sum, *Country & Western Classics: Flatt & Scruggs* is a respectable credit to Neil Rosenberg's scholarship (I only wish he had had more space available in the booklet), Time-Life Records's far-sighted management, and to the monumental accomplishments of Flatt and Scruggs in *bluegrass* music.

NOTES

1. Neil V. Rosenberg, "Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs," in *Stars of Country Music*, edited by Bill C. Malone and Judith McCulloh (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), pp. 255-273.
2. I suggest to Earl and Louise Scruggs, WSM-TV, and the present executives of Martha White Mills that the time is ripe for the release of videotapes of the Flatt & Scruggs half-hour shows--if "video masters" exist in any form. I suspect there are hundreds of other fans besides myself who would immensely enjoy both hearing and seeing the Foggy Mountain Boys again in vintage shows, some of the same shows which helped make them famous.
3. For my purpose, the expanded hypothetical borders of the bluegrass "musical south" include as a northern limit the southern part of Pennsylvania westward through Ohio, Indiana, and into the greater Chicago area, then south to Hannibal, Missouri, then more or less straight south to the Gulf of Mexico.
4. I have consulted the following discographies in compiling my release and/or recorded totals. Flatt and Scruggs; R. J. Ronald, "The Lester Flatt & Earl Scruggs Story: A Short Biography and Critical Study of Their Recordings," in *Country News & Views* (England), 5:2 (October 1966): 8-10; Neil V. Rosenberg, *Bill Monroe and His Blue Grass Boys: An Illustrated Discography* Nashville, 1974), pp. 37-43, 57-67, 102-103. Reno and Smiley: Pete Kuykendall, "Don Reno & Red Smiley and the Tennessee Cutups," in *Disc Collector* no. 16 (1961), pp. 23-25f; Robert Ronald, "The Stanley Brothers," in *Country News & Views*, 2:3 (January 1964): 9-10, 16-17. Mac Wiseman: this writer's own unpublished compilation of discographic data on Mac Wiseman. Osborne Brothers: Neil V. Rosenberg, "The Osborne Brothers," in *Bluegrass Unlimited* (September 1971): 7-10, (February 1972): 5-6; and unpublished discography provided this writer by Rosenberg. Jim and Jesse: Nelson Sears, *Jim and Jesse: Appalachia to the Grand Ole Opry* (Lancaster, PA, 1976), p. 158; Charles Newman, "Jim and Jesse McReynolds," in *Country News & Views*, 1:4 (April 1963): 6-8; Newman, "Jim & Jesse Additions," in *Country News & Views*, 2:1 (July 1963): 27-28. Bill Clifton: Robert Ronald, "Bill Clifton & The Dixie Mountain Boys," in *Country News & Views*, 3:3 (January 1965): 9-10; Ronald, "Bill Clifton & The Dixie Mountain Boys: A Discography (2nd ed.), 1967," in *Country & Western Spotlight* (New Zealand), no. 59 (September 1967), pp. 6-7; Ronald, "Discography--Bill Clifton & The Dixie Mountain Boys: Additions and Corrections..." *Country & Western Spotlight*, no. 62 (September 1968), p. 18.
5. Robert Ronald, "The Lester Flatt & Earl Scruggs Story" op cit., pp. 9-10, 14.
6. In addition to the titles discussed below, there are: "I'll Go Stepping, Too," "Dear Old Dixie," "Before I Met You," "Foggy Mountain Special," and "'Til the End of the World Rolls 'Round."
7. Hartford has corrected Columbia's apparent mistitling of "Cabin in the Hills" to the more appropriate "Cabin on the Hill," as actually sung on master ZSP-47262.
8. This LP is the companion reissue album to *Flatt & Scruggs: The Golden Era* (Rouder Special Series 05, 1977).
9. The record companies themselves are the obvious source for release dates of singles. However, the dates have not been forthcoming. Former discographers of Flatt and Scruggs have concentrated on recording dates, and we should be glad to have as many facts as we do regarding each title. In addition to discographers of Flatt and Scruggs in note 4, sell also: Pete Kuykendall, "Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs and the Foggy Mountain Boys," in *Disc Collector*, no. 14 (1960): 37-44; and Robert J. Ronald, "The Lester Flatt & Earl Scruggs Story," in *Country News & Views* (October 1966), pp. 4-17, reprinted as "Lester Flatt and Earl Scruggs Discography," in *Bluegrass Unlimited* (January and February 1968), pp. 2-4; 5-9. One of the major trade papers, *Billboard*, has provided approximate release dates (probably accurate to within a few weeks, I suspect); see Neil Rosenberg's "The Hurricane that Almost Hit Tampa," *Bluegrass Unlimited* (February 1968), p. 9, for many Mercury release dates. For selected Columbia release dates, see Rosenberg's notes to *Don't Get above Your Raisin'*, reviewed above, and the companion LP cited in note 8.
10. *Muleskinner News* (August 1974), pp. 7-9, 31-33.



PRESENT AT THE CREATION: THE LEGEND
OF JERRY LEE LEWIS ON RECORD, 1946-1963

by

B. LEE COOPER AND JAMES A. CREETH

[B. Lee Cooper is a professor of history and Vice President for Academic Affairs at Newberry College in South Carolina. He earned his doctorate in American History at the Ohio State University. Dr. Cooper has authored two books--*Images of American Society in Popular Music* (Nelson-Hall, 1982) and *The Popular Music Handbook* (Libraries Unlimited, 1983)--and several articles for *JEMFQ*, *Goldmine*, *Journal of Popular Culture*, and other scholarly and popular journals. He also contributed two essays to *Twentieth-Century Popular Culture in Museums and Libraries* (Popular Press, 1981). Dr. Cooper's intellectual interest is in examining social commentaries and persistent historical themes in contemporary lyrics, but his passion is for rockabilly music and vintage rock 'n' roll.]

[James A. Creeth was featured as "Record Collector of the Month" in the August 1983 issue of *Goldmine* magazine. This Santa Barbara, California, resident is an internationally-renowned expert on the recordings of Jerry Lee Lewis. He owns more than 300 different LPs--105 U.S. and 225 foreign releases--and every domestic 45 disc by "The Killer." Mr. Creeth corresponds regularly with the editor of *Fireball Mail*, the bi-monthly publication of the Jerry Lee Lewis International Fan Club, and ships old and recent U.S. albums abroad in order to secure rare European pressings. Among the most valuable items in his Jerry Lee Lewis collection are unissued disc form recordings of radio concert performances such as "The Silver Eagle" series and "Live from Gilley's" in Pasadena, Texas.]

JERRY LEE LEWIS: THE SUN YEARS (Charly Records, Ltd., Sun Box 102)

Rock 'n' roll is aging, if not maturing. Numerous rock journalists, popular culture scholars, and record company executives have penned studies describing the evolution of modern music.¹ But even the best of these literary efforts invariably shortchange the audio heritage of rock. Only records, those vinyl orbs of oral history, can capture rock's dynamism. For many years, single-volume anthology albums were sufficient to illustrate the "greatest hits" of particular artists. In recent years, however, a new collection vehicle has emerged: the boxed set--a multi-disc anthology which offers the opportunity for fans and scholars to gain a broad historical perspective on the works of the most influential performers of the rock era.

Two of the most popular boxed-set releases of the past five years featured songs by Elvis Presley (Elvis Aron Presley, 8 LPs, \$56) and Buddy Holly (*The Complete Buddy Holly*, 6 LPs, \$35). It is hardly surprising that the most widely represented group available in the boxed-set format is The Beatles. No fewer than four different sets--*The Beatles British EP Collection* (14 EPs, \$45); *The Beatles British Singles Collection* (27 single discs, \$69); and *The Beatles Ten Monaural Albums* (10 LPs, \$110)--are currently available. Other interesting recent boxed-set releases include Germany's *The Rolling Stones Story* (12 LPs, \$80); Japan's *The Immortal Hank Williams* (11 LPs, \$99); England's *Elvis Presley British EP Collection* in two volumes (11 EPs each, \$55 apiece); and England's *Carl Perkins--The Sun Years* (3 LPs, \$24). This list is not designed to be exhaustive. It simply illustrates the new trend of compiling and marketing rock 'n' roll (and country music, in the case of Hank Williams) in huge vinyl commodities.

Record collectors and popular music scholars alike are often frustrated by the inconsistencies and omissions which frequently occur in the construction of boxed sets. Charly Records, Ltd., of London has just issued a model twelve-LP set of records entitled *Jerry Lee Lewis--The Sun Years*. From the heavy-duty structure of the record container to the detailed scholarly notations on the extended session discography, this is a compilation of the highest quality. The value of Sun Box 102 to record collectors was heralded in an extended advertising description provided in the *Down Home Music, Inc. Newsletter* of March 1983. Store manager Frank Scott lauded it in the following fashion:

This is it! The definitive collection of vintage recordings by one of the greatest rock 'n' roll artists of all time. Twelve LP box set containing 209 recordings of pounding rock 'n' roll and rhythm 'n' blues, low down blues and boogie, and moving country weepers. The set features 57 cuts that were originally issued by Sam Phillips' Sun Record Company, 77 tracks that were

first issued after Sun Records was bought by Shelby Singleton in 1969 (many issued here in original mono for the first time), 60 previously unissued alternative takes of issued songs, 7 tracks that are issued here in their original form (commercial issues featured vocal or instrumental overdubs), and 8 songs that have never been issued before in any form. The set includes false starts and studio chat, including the famous conversation about religion between Sam Phillips and Jerry Lee which is here in a listenable form. Each album has its own photo sleeve with analysis of each performance and the set comes with a 36-page album-sized book which includes an introduction by Sam Phillips, an overview of Jerry Lee's career at Sun Records, a complete Sun session discography, photos, press clippings, and other memorabilia. A must!! Price \$75.00²

One might understandably suspect that Scott's zealous comments are merely excessive commercial hype if they were not echoed and reinforced by more critical Jerry Lee Lewis fans and other more objective journalists. Wim de Boer, Dutch president of the Jerry Lee Lewis International Fan Club and editor of the bi-monthly fan magazine *Fireball Mail*, participated actively in the construction of Sun Box 102. In September 1982 de Boer published an enthusiastic pre-release "Sun Box Report" which was authored by Barrie Gamblin. This rave review asserted that the forthcoming 12-LP set was compiled "without thought of financial gain" by several people who believe Jerry Lee to be an authentic "legend in his own time." Gamblin concluded, with no hint of modesty and with full knowledge of the highly critical expectations of Jerry Lee's closest followers, that Sun Box 102 was "put together by fans for the fans."³ The same *Fireball Mail* issue presented a three-page song-by-song analysis of the "Jerry Lee Box" which categorized the tunes contained in the compilation into five realms:

- A. Songs originally released by Sun Records (Phillips)
- B. Songs previously released--but with vocal or instrumental overdubbing removed.
- C. Songs originally released by Sun International Records (Singleton)
- D. Alternate takes of hit songs which have never before been released
- E. Previously unreleased songs

The report also offers a song-by-song list of which format--45-rpm disc, 45-rpm EP, or 33 1/3-rpm LP--the released recordings first appeared.⁴ The detail is staggering.

No sooner had the British Sun Box 102 hit American record store shelves, than *Time* magazine printed a full-page review entitled "A Few Rounds with the Killer: Twelve New Records Celebrate Jerry Lee Lewis' Glory Days." Author Jay Cocks drew heavily on Nick Tosches' sinister biography, *Hellfire*, to place the subject of his extended review in a musical, psychological, and social context. Although Cocks is too brief and too flashy in his viewpoint, the commentary speaks positively to the power of the songs and to the oral history found in the vinyl grooves.⁵

What makes Sun Box 102 such a remarkable documentary product? The breadth and the quality of the recordings featured throughout the set are noteworthy. The photographs on the twelve LP sleeves are clear, exciting, and historically accurate. The authenticity of the entire project is linked directly to the high level of cooperation achieved among the diverse group which constructed the Jerry Lee Lewis package. Cliff White, the project supervisor, enlisted the assistance of a knowledgeable and experienced team of record producing, researching, and writing personnel. Initially, formal permission to use all 1956-1963 Sun tapes had to be obtained from Shelby Singleton of Nashville, who had purchased all Sun Record rights from Sam Phillips of Memphis in 1969. This was accomplished. Authentication, in terms of detailed, song-related information and the designation of specific recording session participants, was skillfully handled by White, Hank Davis, Colin Escott, and Martin Hawkins (note the areas labeled "Discography" and "Liner Notes"). Escott and Hawkins are the unparalleled authorities on the history of Sun Records.⁶ The photo research and newspaper clippings which adorn the box set were compiled by White, Hawkins, Barrie Gamblin, John Pearce, Adam Komorowski (editor of *New Kommotion*), Bill Millar, and Tony Wilkinson. Other information on Jerry Lee was drawn from key trade journals (*Billboard* and *Cashbox*), from fan magazines (Bob Fuller's *Country Song Roundup* and Wim de Boer's *Fireball Mail*), and from personal interviews with key Sun Records personnel including Jack Clement, Roy Hall, Roland Janes, Jud Phillips, Sam Phillips, and Jimmy Van Eaton. Finally, the entire Jerry Lee Lewis project was recorded and marketed by the experienced British vintage rock 'n' roll/rhythm 'n' blues label, Charly Records, Ltd. There could be no finer tribute, no more thorough presentation of the artistry of Jerry Lee Lewis from November 1956 through August 1963 than this superb collection.

The big question which might linger in the minds of some sceptical record buyers is, Why produce such a weighty set of albums on Jerry Lee Lewis? This understandable inquiry deserves a thorough explanation. Antiquarianism, the mindless reverence for all things from the past, often justifies

the preservation of and adulation for the most obscure 1950s recording figures. However, Jerry Lee Lewis is a legitimate candidate for historical study for more reasons than even his most ardent fans know. Put simply, he was present at the creation of America's rock 'n' roll revolution. The concluding paragraphs of this study will hopefully provide a rationale for the loving, diligent labors of those who assembled Sun Box 102.

Since 1956 the professional career of Ferriday, Louisiana, rocker Jerry Lee Lewis has been a roller coaster of audience appreciation and public ridicule. Only one fact cannot be disputed: Jerry Lee is a gifted, piano-pounding, living legend of rock 'n' roll. His ascendancy to the status of "the greatest living rock 'n' roller" is based on a dozen distinctive activities, achievements, and events. First, it must be acknowledged that Jerry Lee was one of many rock 'n' roll giants who emerged during the late 1950s. Although they had been schooled in several established musical genres—including blues, country and western, gospel, and rhythm 'n' blues—these early rockers launched a dynamic, disturbing new sound that provided the creative base for future singers. "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On," Jerry Lee's second Sun Records release, was his farewell address to his hometown, to the Southwestern Bible Institute in Waxahachie, Texas, and to the Wagon Wheel Inn at Natchez. The record reportedly sold six million copies worldwide. As Nick Tosches notes, "By 1958 Jerry Lee Lewis was on top. Of all the rock-and-roll creatures, he projected the most hellish persona."⁷ This comment is central to understanding Jerry Lee's legendary stature.

Second, public recognition and performing longevity are two undisputed factors in achieving the status of a legend. Several brilliant singers of the early rock 'n' roll era—Buddy Holly, Eddie Cochran, and Ritchie Valens—died prematurely. Other early rockers, like Carl Perkins and Gene Vincent, sustained unfortunate, career-damaging injuries. Very few stars from the fifties continued to measure their music to a rock 'n' roll beat during the following two decades. However, Jerry Lee has accumulated twenty-five years of recording and performing success.

Third, the degree of fame, popularity, and notoriety which a singer achieves is a prime measure of his stylistic leadership and influence. Jerry Lee Lewis dominated *Billboard's* "Top 100," "Country," and "Rhythm 'N' Blues" charts in 1957 with "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On." His next two records—"Great Balls of Fire" and "Breathless"—were also blockbusters. The public opinion roller coaster hurdled downward for Jerry Lee early in 1958 after the British press castigated him for marrying his thirteen-year-old cousin, and American record distributors and radio broadcasting executives clamped a virtual ban on his recordings. This airwave freeze lasted until 1967. Jerry Lee describes this bleak period with justifiable anger: "I worked for ten years, didn't have a hit record, couldn't get a record played on the radio station."⁸ But throughout this period, the nightclub circuit continued to be the sustaining public medium for rockin' Jerry Lee. Some of his most dynamic albums, including *The Greatest Live Show on Earth* for Smash Records, were produced during the early sixties at concert performances. The road back to prominence was paved with winning country tunes: "What Made Milwaukee Famous (Has Made a Loser Out of Me)," "Another Place Another Time," and "Would You Take Another Chance on Me." But his legendary rock 'n' roll soul never cooled. In the early 1970s Jerry Lee's Mercury label released "Chantilly Lace" and "Drinking Wine Spo-Dee O-Dee." By 1978, his new albums featured equal portions of country tunes and joyous, animated rock songs. It is a delight to hear the living legend continue rockin' his life away.

Fourth, some of the most prominent rhythm and blues and rock 'n' roll stars of the fifties were unable to achieve full public recognition for their talents during that so-called quiet decade. This regrettable situation stemmed from several related factors: latent racial segregation in concerts and in social settings, cover recordings of black singers's hit tunes by white artists, and limited distribution/advertising experience and financial support for black performers by most small independent record companies. These fifties singers—including Bo Diddley, Little Richard, Hank Ballard, and Chuck Berry—might have been even more famous then and now but for the dilemma of America's 1950 social structure.⁹ Although Jerry Lee Lewis undeniably suffered from public hostility, he did not have to overcome the stigma of racial bias.

Fifth, the career and image of Elvis Presley overshadowed nearly everything that Jerry Lee Lewis accomplished during the fifties, sixties, and seventies. This frustrated Jerry Lee. No one could challenge the unprecedented record sales or the widespread fan support which surrounded Elvis during his life and after his death. Yet there are several reasons why "The Killer" deserves the title of a rock 'n' roll legend more fully than even "The King" does. Elvis's rock 'n' roll sound and feeling peaked between 1955 and 1958. His Sun years and his early RCA recordings still emanate vintage rock 'n' roll brilliance. However, after Elvis returned from military service, his performing dynamism declined, his public visibility waned, and his grade-B motion picture work consumed his time and energy. The strict management of Col. Tom Parker emasculated the musical vitality of Elvis. Since the essence of rock 'n' roll music is spontaneity, enthusiasm, unpredictability, and public exposure, Jerry Lee has legitimately outdone Elvis since 1960. Ironically, RCA Records, Col. Parker, and the entire Elvis management system created "The King of Rock 'N' Roll" mantle during the same period when Jerry Lee was performing in small clubs, at revival concerts, on television shows, and in recording studios and actually *being* rock royalty. Jerry Lee identified the essential difference be-

tween himself and Elvis in a recent interview with columnist John Hubner. "There's a difference between a phenomenon and a stylist," Lewis told Hubner. "I'm a stylist; Elvis was the phenomenon. And don't you ever forget it."¹⁰ Elvis's premature passing left the stage vacant for--the rocking stylist.

Sixth, a unique singing style and a distinctive piano-playing technique make every tune produced by Jerry Lee Lewis, a "personalized" experience. The numerous alternate takes presented in Sun Box 102 illustrate this fact. Few performers ever achieve this kind of distinctive sound. Among contemporary vocal stylists only Ray Charles and Frank Sinatra are capable of producing this type of universally identifiable sound. Jerry Lee has characteristically noted that besides himself, there have been only three authentic American song stylists: Al Jolson, Jimmie Rodgers, and Hank Williams. Piano skills are also distinctive signatures of "The Killer's" work. Writing in *Rolling Stone*, Robert Palmer has noted, "Lewis has often insisted that he always played rock and roll, and since his style springs from no single apparent source and has changed very little if at all since he made his earliest recordings, there are no serious grounds for doubting him." Still, other writers have speculated that Jerry Lee is actually a dervish-like amalgam of Amos Milburn, Cecil Gant, Merrill Moore, Del Wood, and Moon Millican. Palmer concludes his brief analysis by observing, "My guess is that the Lewis Boogie, as he called it on an early Sun single, was a mixture of local black influences, the hillbilly boogie and rhythm and blues that were popular on Southern jukeboxes when he was growing up, and--the most crucial ingredient--the Killer's individual musical genius."¹¹

Seventh, Jerry Lee Lewis's personality and vocal artistry have successfully ventured beyond rock 'n' roll into a variety of musical forms. Although he maintains that "Rockin' My Life Away" is his personal theme song, Jerry Lee's fans variously regard him as an accomplished singer of country, R&B, pop, and gospel numbers. His repertoire is unbelievably varied. Sun Box 102 beautifully illustrates this eclecticism, too. As one journalist wrote in 1979, "There has never been another American pop musician with Lewis' particular mixture of egotistical self-confidence, innate taste and sensitivity, eclecticism (he will play Chuck Berry, Hoagy Carmichael, Jim Reeves, Artie Shaw, spirituals, blues, low-down honky-tonk or all-out rock and roll, as the mood strikes him), formidable and entirely idiosyncratic technique (both instrumental and vocal), and sheer bravura."¹² Yet, "The Killer" has his own musical priorities. To quote Jerry Lee again, "I've had over 30 country hits, but I believe I'd rather do the rockers. I love rock and roll. Country is basically just pretty songs. A lot of guys can sing pretty songs, but there's only one man who can rock his life away. I'm the only one left that's worth a damn. Everyone else is dead or gone. Only The Killer rocks on."¹³

Eighth, the most frequently mentioned characteristic of Jerry Lee Lewis's musical career is his show-stopping, uninhibited stage personality. While avoiding the million-dollar props employed by many contemporary touring groups (Electric Light Orchestra, Kiss, and Styx) and the retinue of supporting orchestration used by many other performers (Isley Brothers; Barry Manilow; and Earth, Wind, and Fire), Jerry Lee and his small band use only the power of personality and piano pyrotechnics to produce musical mayhem and emotional exhaustion wherever they work. This is not meant to underrate the audience excitement associated with the performances of Ted Nugent, Bruce Springsteen, The Who, Bob Seger, Ike and Tina Turner, the Rolling Stones, or even James Brown. Nor does it discount the universal fan hysteria which surrounded The Beatles. But no single artist has ever criss-crossed the United States so frequently, playing so often and with such continuing gusto for so many years, and creating a sustained aura of excitement like Jerry Lee Lewis.¹⁴

Ninth, even at their wildest, most destructive, most lurid and abusive, and most law-breaking, it is hard to imagine that Jim Morrison, Pete Townshend, Mick Jagger, Keith Richards, or Jimi Hendrix have ever exceeded the drinking, drug-use, fighting, and general mayhem antics attributed to Jerry Lee Lewis. Nick Tosches capsulizes this aspect of "The Killer" in a 1978 article in *Creem* magazine. "Jerry Lee Lewis is a creature of mythic essence....He is the heart of redneck rock-and-roll depravados: Jerry Lee makes them all look like Wayne Newton." Tosches doesn't stop there. "Jerry Lee can out-drink, out-dope, out-fight, out-cuss, out-shoot, and out-f___ any man in the South. He is the last American wild man, *homo agrestic Americanus ultimus*..."¹⁵ Undeniably related to this aberrant behavior are a series of genuinely heart-rending personal tragedies including four divorces, the deaths of two sons and both of his parents, cruel public censure and professional banishment for an untimely marriage, numerous physical illnesses, and several other personal problems. Still, "The Killer" continues to blend sexual innuendo, raucous stage gestures, and driving piano rhythm to ignite his cheering audiences. The psychological sources of Jerry Lee's inflammatory character are too complex to unravel. The roots of his personality are as distinctive as his legendary lifestyle.¹⁶

Tenth, singularity of attention to music is another characteristic which sets Jerry Lee apart from most of his fellow rock 'n' rollers. This trait is both a strength and a weakness. Numerous contemporary musicians have elected to divide their professional lives in order to become producers, managers, record company owners, or even corporate heads of other non-music-related enterprises. Jerry Lee Lewis has not diversified his attention or broadened his sources of income. In fact, he has probably encountered more problems with the Internal Revenue Service. precisely because he has been

unwilling to accept professional financial management advice about handling his personal wealth. The central concern in Jerry Lee's existence is his music. The rockin' boogie woogie totally dominates his soul. Ironically, the instability of this "living for today" attitude is part of the force that makes Jerry Lee a legend.

Eleventh, songwriting is not a strength of Jerry Lee Lewis. He has authored only a handful of the hundreds of tunes that he has recorded: "End of the Road," "High School Confidential," "Lewis Boogie," "Lincoln Limousine," and "He Took it Like a Man." This fact denies him membership in the exclusive league of rock singer/songwriters such as Chuck Berry, Paul Simon, Stevie Wonder, Ray Charles, Sam Cooke, and Buddy Holly. But rock 'n' roll music is generally less cerebral than emotional—and no one is more emotional than Jerry Lee. Colin Escott and Martin Hawkins, in a chapter from *Sun Records: The Brief History of the Legendary Record Label*, attack the issue of "The Killer's" reliance on other people's tunes in the following manner: "Some critics have remarked that Jerry is handicapped because he does not write his own material. It is certainly true that he has written very little, although he maintains that he could if he wanted to... He compensates by treating other writer's songs as if they were his own. Jerry has never been cowed by a good song, always believing that he can make a greater version and this self-confidence has usually been well justified."¹⁷

Twelfth, the European adoration for Elvis Presley, Fats Domino, Jerry Lee Lewis, Chuck Berry, Gene Vincent, Eddie Cochran, and other American rock 'n' roll originals was amply showered on Bill Haley throughout the heights and depths of his performing career. Particularly in Great Britain, the "Rock Around the Clock" anthem will forever symbolize the dawning of the contemporary musical era. Haley emerged from the country music shadows between 1952 and 1955, leaving The Four Aces of Western Swing and The Saddlemen behind and adopting a new group called The Comets. But after his sensational performances during the fifties, Haley never regained his hit-making stride and simply continued to revive his classic rock tunes for worshipping fans. Regrettably, he succumbed to the kind of "frozen time frame" popularity that Rick Nelson described so brilliantly in his 1972 tune "Garden Party." Jerry Lee Lewis avoided this trap for several reasons. He was a decade younger than Haley when his career began; he was more stylistically creative and flexible than Haley. He was also more ornery, antagonistic, and egotistical than the gentle Haley. And, finally, he was the kind of devastating showman that commanded public attention far beyond Haley's capabilities.¹⁸

Of course, any one of the twelve preceding assertions can be challenged. Death has not lessened the musical influence of Buddy Holly. Nor has Elvis's image dimmed since 1977. And the opening lines to Bill Haley's most popular recording remain universally recognized, if not immortal. Among the living giants of rock 'n' roll, Chuck Berry is still an awesome talent. So is the more musically diversified Ray Charles. The same can be said for Bo Diddley, Fats Domino, Little Richard, Carl Perkins, Rick Nelson, as well as several others. The weight of the twelve points presented above is designed to be cumulative, though. From his emergence as the piano pumping rocker in Sam Phillips's Sun organization until today, Jerry Lee Lewis remains the living incarnation of rock 'n' roll music. The release on Sun Box 102 simply substantiates what so many music fans have always known.

Are there any shortcomings, or questionable aspects, about Charly Record's spectacular Sun Box 102? Yes. At \$75.00 per box, Jerry Lee's lyrical sermons will probably be preached largely to the already converted. Some of the pre-recording studio banter is strictly X-rated, as in the case of Jerry Lee being coaxed by his cronies into overt sexual comments prior to ripping through a version of "Great Balls of Fire." No matter how much is said about the brilliance of Jerry Lee's post-1964 endurance, the Sun roots of his career still need more examination. Among his recent biographers, only Nick Tosches and Murray Silver are credible commentators. Yet neither writer effectively characterizes the capricious, unorthodox, open, zany sense of the 1956-1958 Sun studio recording scene. Not even Sun Box 102 achieves this elusive goal. Finally, why wasn't Jerry Lee called on to personally provide an oral evaluation of his early recording career? Such a unique thirteenth album in this set—with "The Killer" interviewed by Cliff White on a variety of crucial historical, song selection, and personal issues of the 1956-1963 period—would have been invaluable.

There is no boxed set available today that comes close to matching *Jerry Lee Lewis: The Sun Years* for research accuracy, sound quality, and breadth of musical coverage. This retrospective look at "The Killer" is England's gift to America. It is especially ironic, of course, that Jerry Lee's 1958 career skid began in London where Charly Records has now revived each and every recording by Sun's living legend of rock 'n' roll.

—Newberry, South Carolina



NOTES

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"THERE'S A MEANNESS IN THIS WORLD":
BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN'S *NEBRASKA* AND FOLK MUSIC

by

MARK ALLISTER

[Mark Allister teaches English at the University of Washington and is presently writing his dissertation on contemporary American non-fiction. He has published on William Faulkner, the teaching of literature, and the teaching of writing. Also interested in sports and music, Allister covers Seattle's pro basketball team, the Sonics, for a weekly newspaper. This article is his foray into writing on music.]

NEBRASKA--Bruce Springsteen (Columbia Records TC-38358, 1982). Selections: *Nebraska*, *Atlantic City*, *Mansion on the Hill*, *Johnny 99*, *Highway Patrolman*, *State Trooper*, *Used Cars*, *Open All Night*, *My Father's House*, *Reason to Believe*.

In January of 1961 Bob Dylan arrived in New York to pay homage to Woody Guthrie. Word of Dylan's talent spread quickly, and for his New York debut he was given one of Guthrie's old suits to wear--a gesture, lost on no one involved in folk music, that the flame was being passed. But four years later at the Newport Folk Festival, Dylan outraged his audience by taking the stage with an electric guitar and playing rock 'n' roll. Now, nearly two decades later, the reverse has occurred with a singer whose stature in the rock world approximates that of Dylan. In 1982 Bruce Springsteen, considered by many to be rock's most compelling performer and songwriter, released an album that can only be called a folk record. Though Springsteen would not talk about the motivations behind *Nebraska*, it is known that he had read and been greatly influenced by Joel Klein's recent biography of Guthrie, *Woody Guthrie: A Life*.¹ Springsteen, ironically, has moved in the opposite direction from Dylan on the same circle.

Nebraska received little promotion, almost no airplay. Its sales are due largely to Springsteen's name. Springsteen had a vision of America, and scorning the usual formula for commercial success, he told that story. The darkness of his vision excluded his usual expression: excluded the vibrancy of rock music's beat, excluded the dynamic sound of instruments mashing together or playing off one another. For these new songs Springsteen desired a different sound, a sound simple and flat, unadorned and solitary. And so on the album he plays only his acoustic guitar and harmonica, unaccompanied, in a folk style to match his message and mood.

In a scene from his autobiography, *Bound For Glory*, Woody Guthrie describes two young Okie girls singing songs to migrant workers in a California camp. He says that the folk songs "say something about our [the Okies] hard

traveling, something about our hard luck, our hard get-by, but the songs say we'll come through all of these in pretty good shape, and we'll be all right, we'll work..."² (p. 336). Guthrie's early songs are reminiscent of John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath*. Guthrie relates the story of the Okies's battle against soil erosion and dust storms ("So Long, It's Been Good to Know Ya"), against police blockades designed to prevent them from entering California ("Do Re Mi"). When conditions improved in California in the late thirties, Guthrie hit the road with the Almanac Singers (Pete Seeger, Millard Lampell, Lee Hayes) to play at union rallies. Songs such as "Talking Union," "Reuben James," and "Union Maid" prompted striking longshoremen or factory workers to rise from their seats and sing the choruses in a loud display of union solidarity. Guthrie, admiring many of the communist organizers of the union rallies, was becoming even more politicized and defined a folk song as:

...what's wrong and how to fix it, or it could be whose [sic] hungry and where their mouth is, or whose out of work and where the job is or whose broke and where the money is or whose carrying a gun and where the peace is--that's folk lore and folks made it up because they seen that the politicians couldn't find nothing to fix or nobody to feed or give a job or work (WG; 169).

Most of Guthrie's finest songs are political protest songs. "This Land is Your Land," for example, began as "God Blessed America," a leftwing satire of Irving Berlin's blandly status-quo "God Bless America." Even when Guthrie's songs are not political, he celebrates the "folk," says that the Okies "will be all right."

In *Nebraska*, besides playing and singing in a folk style, Springsteen follows Guthrie in a



major way: he shows an America gone as wrong as Guthrie's America of the Great Depression. He does not say, however, that the folk--his characters--will come through just fine. If, among other things, reading Guthrie's biography spurred him into writing the songs, he seems mostly to have noticed the people associated with Guthrie's life who didn't make it, who fell with blasted hopes into the drudge of poverty.

Springsteen also differs from Guthrie in that the songs on *Nebraska* are only implicitly political--he contrasts those who have the "mansion on the hill," for example, with those who don't; the poor kids who play in front of the steel gates guarding the road leading to that mansion. Like Guthrie's characters, Springsteen's come from downtrodden, rural and urban, America. They are petty hoods, even murderers; highway patrolmen; sons looking for fathers. All have walked through "the darkness on the edge of

town."² But Springsteen makes no attempt to align them with a group or cause, seeing always the "person," not the "member," as Guthrie saw. Instead, Springsteen's characters are individual cases: stories of people who have gone wrong or have no opportunity to go right. In rock music, when young men and women are trapped in a town or job, they find release in cars, music, or young love. Springsteen's characters in *Nebraska* have no escape open to them. These people are losing their minds and their lives--losing all. As the protagonist in "State Trooper" says: "Hey somebody out there/Listen to my last prayer/Hi ho silver-o,/Deliver me from nowhere."³

One reason for Guthrie's mythical status of late--and of his great influence on folk music--is that he was one man who beat the system. Dirt-poor, he hopped freights, lived like a hobo, and yet saw *everything*. He had community, independence, and a sense of control. He gives the folk in his songs the same community and control. Springsteen's characters, on the other hand, controlled by their upbringing and environment (their Fate), are powerless and have only enough independence to strike out blindly around themselves, which sometimes costs them heavily. There is no community available for these alienated people, not even family or friends for most, and certainly no group such as the Okies or the hobos hitching rides. In differing from Guthrie on this major point, Springsteen differs from the entire folk tradition, which almost always uses the music to depict and create community.

Springsteen's vision of the world has not always been so morose. His first three albums (1973-1975) were marked by their enthusiasm and even innocence, though even there he was exploring the difficulties of growing up. His teenagers know the pain at the same time they know the means of escape and have a community, their peers. But as Springsteen has gotten older, he has returned to the New Jersey factory towns where he grew up and has seen the despair of hardworking people caught in an economic recession/depression. In a 1981 interview, Springsteen stated, "There's not much people can count on today. Everything has been so faithless, and people have been shown such disrespect."⁴ By autumn 1982 and *Nebraska*, Springsteen believes that people now have nothing to count on.

Representative of the malaise, the gloom, the lack of community saturating *Nebraska* is the main character in "Johnny 99." He begins the song as Ralph, an auto factory worker out of a job who cannot find another one, gets drunk, shoots a night clerk, and upon being arrested, is "Johnny 99"--a 99-year sentence in prison. Springsteen's flat, nondescript, and spare lyric ("He got a gun shot a night clerk") gives no extenuating circumstances which could make Ralph seem an outlaw hero like Jesse James or Billy the Kid. However, in his indictment of Johnny 99's actions, Springsteen does show that no deed is done without reason or motive: Ralph tells the judge, "The bank was holding my mortgage and they/Was taking

my house away/Now I ain't saying that makes me an innocent man/But it was more 'n all this that put that gun in my hand." It will be the "more 'n all this" that the album explores.

Unlike Johnny 99, the main character in "State Trooper" has not committed a crime--yet. Driving down the New Jersey Turnpike on a hot, rainy summer night, he sings over and over, "Mister State Trooper, please don't stop me." There are no reasons given why this man is so desperate, except for the lines: "Maybe you got a kid/Maybe you got a pretty wife/The only thing I got's/Been botherin' me my whole life." The objects/symbols of man he encounters as he drives along reflect his murderous mood. He travels "neath the refinery's glow" past ominous radio relay towers. Ironically, he listens to talk show stations--one of society's attempts to reach the alienated--where people just "talk, talk, talk, 'til you lose your patience." He is a time bomb, ready to explode. And the music intensifies the tremendous tension. Springsteen strikes no chords, plays no melody line on his guitar. The song has only four notes. Like a bass player, Springsteen hits individual strings to keep a driving rhythm going--that is all. With a mournful yet angry voice, plus a monotone melody and the pulsating rhythm, he creates an unbelievably powerful song.

"State Trooper" closes side one. In its evocation of terrible violence ready to happen, it recalls and explains the actions described in the song "Nebraska" which begins the album. "Nebraska" tells the true story of Charles Starkweather (unnamed in the song) who, for no apparent reason, went on a killing spree across the plains in 1958. As Springsteen has his protagonist say "I killed everything in my path/I can't say that I'm sorry/For the things that we done/At least for a little while sir/Me and her we had us some fun." Springsteen lets such a man condemn himself, both in a court of justice and in any court of humanity. Yet in the unsettling lines that close the song, Springsteen enlarges the condemnation. The character says, "They wanted to know why I did what I did/Well sir, I guess there's just a meanness in this world." And the disquieting harmonica solo opening and closing the song--flat as the plains killer drove, hauntingly off-key at times--captures this meanness.

The song "Nebraska, performed in a distinctively folk style, is about the kind of person who is often the subject of folk songs. But in the song there is no counseling of acceptance, as the Carter Family or Jimmie Rodgers encouraged, nor transcendence of the situation, as Guthrie would have wanted. There is only a void: a meanness in the world, and in such a man as Starkweather. It is in this seldom-explored void that Springsteen often stakes his territory.

Though "Nebraska," "Johnny 99," and "State Trooper" explore the void--and seem fit music to play during the blackest night in hell--not all of side one's songs explicitly do so. "Mansion

on the Hill" is the story of a man who, looking at that mansion, recalls his childhood. Taken out of the album's context, the song is more in that folk music line descending from the Carter Family (and their reviving of hymns) to Rodgers and Hank Williams, songs telling people not to strike or fight back, but to accept their hunger and unfulfilled desires. The main character remembers looking up at the mansion with his father at night, or hiding in the cornfields with his sister to spy on the activities at the big house. The final ambiguous lines in one way show the man's acceptance of his social and economic position, symbolizing a transcendence, "Tonight down here in Linden Town/I watch the cars rushin' by home from the mill/There's a beautiful full moon risin'/Above the mansion on the hill"--until one realizes that this man might be another Charles Starkweather. The image here--the man, connected to nothing, staring longingly at the mansion and the moon above it--could serve as prelude to the realized violence of the other songs. The song's bitter irony in the context of the album thus overshadows the protagonist's seeming acceptance of class structure.

The most haunting song on side one, "Highway Patrolman," is more complex than most folk songs in its exploration of the abstract concepts of responsibility and justice. The patrolman, Joe Roberts, is caught between two forces--his respect for authority and responsibility to his family--as he says, "I got a brother named Franky/And Franky ain't no good." Roberts, though proud of his work ("I always done an honest job"), does not always enforce the law equally, for "When it's your brother [in trouble]/Sometimes you look the other way." The song's chorus functions as a counterpoint to Roberts's struggles with his job, not only explaining his beliefs about family, but nostalgically looking back to a better time:

Me and Franky laughin' and drinkin',
Nothin' feels better than blood on blood.
Takin' turns dancin' with Maria,
As the band played "Night of the Johnstown Flood."

I catch him when he's strayin'
Like any brother would.
Man turns his back on his family,
Well he just ain't no good.

When Franky knifes a man and flees, Roberts decides he can no longer look the other way. In a high-speed chase of Franky, he gets closer and closer. But when a sign appears saying "Canadian Border 5 Miles," he pulls over and watches Franky's tail lights disappear. He sings the chorus once again--"Man turns his back on his family/Well he ain't no friend of mine." It is seared into his brain--into ours too by the end of this song--that sometimes one just acts without being able to explain why one principle is followed and not another.

Nebraska, like Springsteen's other albums, has to be played and understood from beginning

to end to achieve its full effect. Like a related set of poems or stories--William Faulkner's *Go Down, Moses* for example--these songs comment on one another and present the writer's vision as a whole. Springsteen, by opening the album with "Nebraska," depicts the most evil and unreasoning world possible, and he then continues on side one to give reminders of this kind of world in "Johnny 99" and "State Trooper." But, as we have seen, "Mansion on the Hill" and "Highway Patrolman" raise specific problems of the common individual battling life's difficulties. As such, they point toward the less morose side two and its concluding song, "Reason to Believe."

In the opening song on side two, "Used Cars," a boy begins to feel that sticking by his family is less important than breaking from the kind of life he sees around him. Feeling humiliated for his parents when they go to buy a used car, he swears that when he wins the lottery--a means of "rescue"--"I ain't ever gonna ride in no used car again." The boy, bemoaning that he walks home on the same dirty streets where he was born, bemoaning his father's factory job, puts his dream of escape into this determination to never ride in a used car. Springsteen almost immediately, however, counterbalances this song. "My Father's House" presents a young man who has a dream about being lost as a child and frantically running home through the woods to find his father. Awakening, the young man remembers growing up with his father and "the hard things that pulled us apart." He determines that those things "will never again sir tear us from each other's hearts." So he returns to his father's house, only to find that new owners have moved in. Trying not to escape, trying instead to get back to family, the man, like everyone else, has his hopes thwarted.

Unlike the traditional folk song whose characters, though often down and out, at least have community, those in Springsteen's have nothing. But though Springsteen's is a dark vision--at best, people simply existing in a mean world; at worst, people crumpling lives and being crumpled in return--the album ends on a surprisingly optimistic note. In "Reason to Believe," the song that thematically unifies the album, Springsteen affirms his belief that such individuals can still have faith. As Faulkner said in his Nobel Prize address, "I believe that man will not merely endure, he will prevail," a statement he can make despite his novels's characteristic gloom. Likewise, the characters in "Reason to Believe," faced with disappointments and defeats incomprehensible to them, discover how to prevail

Springsteen sketches four vignettes in "Reason to Believe." In the first, a man stands by his dead dog on the side of the road, "Like if he slood there long enough that dog'd get up and run." In the second, a woman who loves a man and works long hours to provide for him, returns home one day to find that the man has left her, with her money; yet ever since then, "She waits a vast following. Peace and civil rights activists saw in Dylan their spokesman, the shaper of a new era. And so Dylan's forsaking of folk for rock 'n' roll was perceived as a betrayal.

down at the end of that dirt road/For young Johnny to come back." The third vignette describes a baptism and a funeral. In the fourth, a groom waits for his bride-to-be, who never comes; still, after the people go home, he waits for her and watches the river rush on by. Four vignettes--of country people who face rejection, even death. But as the speaker exclaims in lines that end each story, "Still at the end of every hard earned day/People find some reason to believe." So simple, yet when birthed out of the crises and struggles that Springsteen has earlier described, it is everything. No matter what happens to them, he says, people either find some reason to believe, or they find some reason to believe. Characteristically, the concluding lines work two ways and are perhaps even ambiguous. For while Springsteen one one hand asserts that people will prevail, he gives horrifying examples of the life such people face. Don't ever forget, he seems to say, that "there's a meanness in this world."

That you can't go home, that there's a meanness in this world, that boys and girls will always be dreaming of new cars and the mansion on the hill--these Springsteen demonstrates magnificently, in ten folk songs as raw and powerful as a Nebraska blizzard. For Springsteen, however, perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the songs and the experiences come not from the Nebraska plains or Appalachian coal mines, but from the monotony and noise of the assembly line, from the New Jersey factory towns where he grew up.

Traditionally, folk songs have accompanied the of living--work, play, ceremony. When Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger, and others, first began the overt politicizing of folk music they did not dream of the music's potential power, the power harnessed by Dylan's "Blowin' in the Wind," for example. But in the early sixties, they began to believe that the music could help create a new Utopia where everyone would live in harmony. The belief that folk music could do so was prompted both by the idealism of the times and the capability of musicians such as the Beatles and Dylan to amass

The rock world, on the other hand, has responded to Springsteen's folk record with either distaste or curious surprise, *Nebraska* showing once again that Springsteen follows his own beliefs and not the dictates of the marketplace. In the eighties and in this big business, the quality of a songwriter's albums counts less than do the commercial profits. Record sales are one sign of a singer's impact, but of greater interest in the long run is the effect a record might have on the music tradition--what *Nebraska* will mean for folk music, for example. Perhaps the record will be judged a curiosity piece, created by a rock singer who should have stayed with what he knew best. Perhaps, though, singers and critics will look back to *Nebraska* as an influential, even pivotal record. But no matter its place in the music tradition, it will stand as a descriptive piece of those Americans who are on the edge, who face an incomprehensible world changing ever more rapidly.

NOTES

1. Joe Klien, *Woody Guthrie: A Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1980). Subsequent references to this book appear in text as *WG* with page number. The information comes from Christopher Connelly's review, "Bruce Springsteen," in *Rolling Stone* no. 380 (14 October 1982), p. 64.
2. "Darkness on the Edge of Town" is the title of Springsteen's fourth album, released by Columbia Records in 1978. It is there, and then, that Springsteen went home to the factory towns of New Jersey to try to understand his parents and the people he had left behind when he launched his career. Many of the album's songs are similar in theme to those in *Nebraska*, but the music is classic rock 'n' roll.
3. All lyrics quoted are from Springsteen's *Nebraska*, released by Columbia Records in 1982.
4. Fred Schruers, *Rolling Stone* no. 336 (5 February 1981), p. 20.



RECORD REVIEWS

DOCK BOGGS: HIS TWELVE ORIGINAL RECORDINGS (Folkways RBF 654). Reissue of all 78-rpm recordings made by Boggs in 1927-29, all featuring Boggs's vocal and banjo, most with guitar accompaniment. Selections: *Down South Blues*, *Sugar Baby*, *Country Blues*, *Sammie Where Have You Been So Long*, *Danville Girl*, *Pretty Polly*, *New Prisoner's Song*, *Hard Luck Blues*, *False Hearted Lover's Blues*, *Old Rub Alcohol Blues*, *Will Sweethearts Know Each Other There*, *Lost Love Blues*. Produced by Mike Seeger and Barry O'Connell; 18-page booklet with biography, song notes, and text transcriptions by O'Connell.

Moran Lee "Dock" Boggs, a Virginia-born coalminer, was a minor hillbilly artist who made a dozen recordings in 1927 and 1929. Relatively unimportant in terms of the history of commercially-recorded hillbilly music, Boggs disappeared from public view with the coming of the Depression (except, of course, locally). Highly idiosyncratic in style, Boggs's dozen recordings are instantly recognizable; yet there is no evidence that any other country artists learned from his recordings or were influenced by them until, over three decades later, Doc Watson began his own recording career. Nevertheless, this is an important reissue and a welcome one; why?

In the first place, there are aesthetic reasons. Boggs created a unique musical combination of vocal and banjo styles that produced an intense musical experience that no listener can ever forget. Though he learned to play banjo in a frailing style, as his father and other relatives played while he was young, he chose to develop a picking style based on the playing of a black banjoist whom he heard once in his youth, and was deeply impressed by. He went on to develop the sounds that he had heard into a style of accompaniment that could provide several different kinds of sounds--an alternate melody line, a bass line, or a rhythmic accompaniment at different times--but basically left the airwaves sufficiently uncluttered to allow maximum vocal embellishments. And it is his singing that is most memorable: a rather gravelly voice, slightly nasal tones, with elaborate slides, scoops, vocal breaks, passing tones, anticipations, and hesitations. Though he sings many old Anglo-American ballads, and with a strong predilection for pentatonic tunes, there is more behind his singing than the style of the unaccompanied ballad singer. Boggs has also incorporated the vocal decorations of black singers into his kit of vocal ornamentations. For example, while white singers tend to use ascending vocal decorations, blacks tend more to use descending ornamentations. Boggs does both.

There is also, thanks largely to Mike Seeger, extensive documentation of Boggs's life and music that can be useful to future folk musicologists and historians. Subsequent to his "rediscovery" by Seeger in 1963, Boggs was recorded on several occasions, the results being three LPs of songs (Folkways FA 2351, Verve Folkways FV/FVS 9025, 1964; Folkways FA 2392, 1965; and Asch AH 3903, 1970) and one LP of interviews (Folkways FH 5458, 1965). These albums include new recordings of seven of the eight numbers Boggs made for Brunswick on March 10, 1927, his first recording session. In addition, more than forty other songs that Dock learned in his youth are now preserved on LP disc.

Comparison of Dock's 1927 recordings, the first eight on this reissue LP (listed in order above) with renditions made over 35 years later, reveals a number of differences. Most evident, of course, is that the tempo is slower and the vocal quality (and sometimes pitch) is lower. Texts, especially of the songs weak in narrative, vary considerably. "Country Blues," his very first 1927 recording, and a variant of "Hustling Gamblers" which he learned about 1914, is a good example. The 1927 record consisted of ten stanzas; the 1963 version consisted of eleven (including three not on the 1927 version). "Pretty Polly," the sixth of his 1927 songs, is a not unusual version of the Anglo-American murdered-girl ballad until we hear the penultimate stanza:

She threw her arms around him and began to weep (2);
At length Pretty Polly, she fell asleep.

What of the murder? The only clue--apart from our familiarity with other versions, is the last stanza:

He threw the dirt over her and turned away to go (2);
Down to the river where the deep waters flow.

In the 1963 version, this last verse is missing. Did Dock have trouble coming to grips with the fact of the murder?

The last four recordings reissued were made for the Lonesome Ace label, the enterprise of a variety store owner of Richlands, Virginia, named William E. Meyer. Meyer wrote his own compositions and sent them to musicians whose recordings he liked, and invited them to record for him. His musical tastes are suggested by the logo on the record label, "Without a Yodel." On these selections Boggs was accompanied on guitar by Emory Arthur; on his Brunswick session he was accompanied by J.H. "Hub" Mahaffey. None of these four numbers appears on Boggs's 1963-65 recordings, which reinforces the notion that these were not really firmly in his own song repertoire.

Boggs's music, whatever its effect on his contemporaries, made a mark on later urban folk music aficionados. "Pretty Polly" was chosen by Alan Lomax for reissue on one of the two albums he edited for Brunswick/Decca in 1947. Harry Smith reissued "Country Blues" and "Sugar Baby" on his influential set, "Anthology of American Folk Music" (Folkways FA 2951/3) in 1952; and a dozen or so years later, Dave Freeman included "Down South Blues" on a reissue of white blues on his County label (County 511). In the 1960s, the New Lost City Ramblers offered their own re-creations of some of Boggs's songs for audiences of the folksong revival, and recorded "Down South Blues" and "Country Blues." Doc Watson, in the 1960s, added "Country Blues" to his repertoire and performed it in concerts and on LP disc.

Now, listeners can at last hear all of Boggs's original recordings conveniently assembled on one LP disc, most of which are reissued for the first time. Barry O'Connell's lengthy biographical essay dwells not only on the facts of Boggs's life and career, but also on the inner tensions in his psyche: on the conflict between musical career and coalminer; between being a musician and being a good, dependable husband and provider; between the rural audience of the 1920s and the urban audience of the 1960s; between professional commitment to a musical career and a casual predilection. His notes on the songs give brief comments on Dock Boggs's sources and on other traditional versions. The textual transcriptions are useful, but could have been done with greater accuracy. But this is a small flaw in an important and long-awaited reissue.

--Norm Cohen

RELIGIOUS EXPRESSION

Albums of traditional music suffer to varying degrees from the problem of trying to abstract the musical expression from the cultural milieu in which it is ordinarily immersed. One can ask whether a commercial phonograph recording of a professional singer, being only a one-dimensional projection of a three-dimensional event, is not similarly imperfect; yet the sound of a commercial musical performance, in absence of the performance itself, has been a part of our popular entertainment for three quarters of a century now, and can exist on its own merits. The same cannot be said for non-commercial traditional performances, especially as they move away from the purely musical context of, say, a square dance or a ballad. Religious music is rarely traditionally presented in a context that does not include important non-musical events. And while a sound recording cannot present the fuller dimensioned portrait of a video film, it can be enriched beyond the musical component alone.

Three important albums produced by institutions in the last three years, point the way to what can be done with recorded religious expression in a richer context than we are used to getting on phonograph records. *CHILDREN OF THE HEAV'NLY KING: Religious Expression in the Central Blue Ridge* (AFC L6970) was issued in 1981 by the Motion Picture, Broadcasting and Recorded Sound Division of the Library of Congress. Edited by Charles K. Wolfe, the album includes two discs and an illustrated 48-page coated-paper booklet in a boxed set. The recordings were made by the Blue Ridge Parkway Folklife Project, a study conducted by the American Folklife Center in cooperation with the National Park Service, during fieldtrips in 1978 and 1979. The discs offer "a cross-section of the region's religious expression and include hymn singing, prayer, and sermons from church services, performances of gospel music by local trios and quartets, a baptism at a creek, and stories of religious conversion or a call to the ministry." The musical numbers include "Children of the Heav'nly King," sung by the congregation of Cross Roads Primitive Baptist Church, Baywood, VA; "I'm Going Down by the River of Jordan," sung by the congregation of the Macedonia Union Baptist Church, Alleghany City, NC; "What a Time We're Living In," sung, with accompaniment, by Rev. Robert Akers of Galax, VA; "Palms of Victory," sung by the Marshall Largen Family of Laurel Fork, VA; "Holding to His Hand of Love," sung by the Caldwell Schuyler Family, Lowgap, NC; "The Lord Will Make a Way Somehow," sung, with accompaniment, by the Peaceful Valley Quartet, Ennice, NC; "Keep on the Firing Line," Played on piano by Ella Draughn, Lowgap, NC; "On the Other Side of Jordan," sung, with accompaniment, by the Elk Horn Four, Carroll City, VA; "Twilight Is Falling," sung, with accompaniment, by Jim and Artie

Marshall, Hillsville, VA; and "A Home in Heaven," sung by Elder and Mrs. Jess B. Higgins, Galax, VA. Most of one side of one disc consists of selections from a Sunday service at the Laurel Glenn Regular Baptist Church, Alleghany City, NC: five hymns by the congregation, one lined out; a spoken prayer, a sung doxology, and a spoken blessing. The brochure includes an introductory essay on religious music of the region by editor Wolfe, followed by annotations to the selections. The annotations include data on performer(s), collector, and time and place of recording; text transcription; commentary on the performance and the selection; and bibliography of printed and recorded variants, as well as photos of most of the main performers and of some of the recording locations.

The other two albums were both issued in 1982 by the University of North Carolina Press and promise to be only the first of an extensive series of "traditional American verbal and musical performances" under the general editorship of Daniel W. Patterson, chairman of the Curriculum in Folklore at UNC, Chapel Hill. *POWERHOUSE FOR GOD: Sacred Speech, Chant, and Song in an Appalachian Baptist Church* is edited by Jeff Todd Titon and based on five years of his own field research with the Fellowship Independent Baptist Church of Stanley, VA. The handsomely produced package includes two discs and a 24-page illustrated booklet. The selections include nine hymns ("Nothing but the Blood," "Meet Me There," "I Shall Not Be Moved"/"This Little Light of Mine," "I'm So Glad He Found Me," "Preaching By the Roadside," "The Little Church Aisle," "Precious Memories," and "I Saw the Face of Jesus"). One entire side of a disc is a sermon, invitation, and prayer by Brother John Sherfey, and another is Sherfey's spoken life story. The brochure includes an introductory essay and annotations for each of the selections that give text transcriptions and comments on the performer, the performance, and/or the selection.

PRIMITIVE BAPTIST HYMNS OF THE BLUE RIDGE, recorded by Brett Sutton and Pete Hartman and edited by Sutton, includes, in matching color paper to the preceding set, one disc and a 28-page illustrated booklet. These selections are twelve hymns recorded either by congregations or smaller groups of almost eight different churches of Patrick, Floyd, Franklin, Henry, and Pittsylvania Counties in southwestern Virginia: "Dark was the Night and Cold was the Ground," "My God the Spring of all My Joys," "Poor and Afflicted, Lord are Thine," "'Twas on that Dark, that Doleful Night," "On Jordan's Stormy Banks I Stand," "Jesus is a Rock," "I'm Not Ashamed to Own My Lord," "Amazing Grace," "Come Thou Long-Expected Jesus," "I Hear the Voice of Jesus Say," "Firmly I Stand on Zion's Hill," and "Long Sought Home."

The Library of Congress set is priced at \$14.00; the price on the other two sets requires some comment. The one disc set, "Primitive Baptist Hymns," is listed at \$15.00; the two-disc set, "Powerhouse for God," at \$20.00. These albums are the first venture into a new field by a university press, which is basically a book-publishing organ. Consequently, many aspects of its production were treated as one would treat a book (there are, for example, no record catalog numbers; only ISBN numbers). They were priced as books are--at a figure calculated to recover all investments when some realistically estimated quantity--probably in the neighborhood of 1,000 copies--has been sold. Few record producing companies operate this way: if they did, every record on the market would have a different sales price (as do books). In many respects, these sets should not be thought of as records, but as something closer to books (JEMF used to term "sound documents" to describe its own album/booklet productions). This would be appropriate because the market for these sets will be more from individuals and institutions who are book oriented than those that are record oriented. Needless to say, they will probably not be found in many record stores anywhere in the country (except possibly in the communities where the material was recorded). Perhaps we need to recognize the fact that a new medium is upon us, which is neither book nor record, but an integral combination of the two.

--N.C.

BOOK REVIEWS

ETHNIC RECORDINGS IN AMERICA, A NEGLECTED HERITAGE (Washington: American Folklife Center, Library of Congress, 1983), xiii + 269 pp, illustrations, appendices; index; \$13.00 clothcovers.

Generally speaking, my colleagues in the field of ethnomusicology have been slow to follow the lead of folklorists in documenting the music (and by extension, the culture) of ethnic communities in the United States. I suppose this is due, in part, to the fact that our concentration has been more Asian-African-Middle Eastern than European, and we tend to think of ethnic communities as being European. In part as a result of the Korean and Vietnam conflicts, the Asian communities in the United States have expanded considerably, and the Latin communities, no longer just Puerto Rican/Cuban on the East Coast and Mexican in the Southwest, further contradict our rather traditional view of "ethnic communities."

This book, presented to us in an unforgettable purple cover, came about as a result of a meeting at the Library of Congress on 24-26 January 1977 on the subject of "Ethnic Recordings in America." In his Foreword, Alan Jabbour, Director of the American Folklife Center notes that:

This book is not a transcription of the proceedings of the conference, nor does it begin to represent the papers, talks, roundtable discussion, and audience contributions that made up the meeting. Rather, it carries the initiative of the conference a step further--exploring more deeply some themes and exemplary figures contemplated at the conference and beginning the task of assembling the research tools requisite to serious future investigation of the subject.

In his opening remarks to the conference, Daniel J. Boorstin, the Librarian of Congress, observes that "Music in this country has had a quite distinct character. The American achievement has not been expressed in chamber music, or in symphony, or in grand opera, but in popular music." Some observers, including this writer, would disagree, since such a statement negates the thoroughly American contribution of a Copeland, an Ives, a MacDowell, or a Samuel Barber. I would agree that American popular music has been the dominant form by which the world knows us, which is an entirely different matter. And the means by which that popular music (as well as other forms of American music) has been expressed and transmitted, has been the phonograph. Boorstin does point out quite correctly that "the phonograph is as good a symbol as any of the peculiar intrusion of technology in America into the traditional categories of culture....The phonograph asserted itself in American life largely because it was a democratic instrument. It was a machine which not only repeated experience but democratized it." Finally, Boorstin stressed the vividness and richness of our ethnicity which is, of course, the very heart of the significance of this book.

Anyone interested in our musical heritage should become familiar with the names of Pekka Gronow and Richard K. Spottswood. Gronow, a founder of the National Record Archive in Finland, has a background in record and radio production and for many years has studied the music of industrial studies. His monograph, "Ethnic Recordings: An Introduction," gives an excellent overview of the history and development of foreign-language recordings. "A Checklist of 78-rpm Foreign Language Records" is also provided.

Richard K. Spottswood follows with a complementary essay, "Commercial Ethnic Recordings in the United States." Spottswood has compiled and edited the fifteen-LP set, *Folk Music in America*, for the Library of Congress and is now committed to a monumental discographic study of ethnic recordings sponsored jointly by the John Edwards Memorial Foundation, the Library of Congress, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the National Endowment for the Arts. Spottswood is undoubtedly the most qualified man in the country to undertake this task if his entry in this volume under review is any indication. He notes that "the history of ethnic recordings in the United States begins not so much with the recording industry as with those foreign-born peoples and their descendants whose music was available for record companies to exploit." His essay unfolds from that point and it is a marvelous story. Joseph C. Hickerson follows with a fascinating history of "Early Field Recordings of

Ethnic Music." The photographs here and throughout the volume are worth the price of the book.

Other areas covered in the volume include "Irish Ethnic Recordings and the Irish-American Imagination," by Mick Moloney; "an exercise in the art of artistic autobiography" to quote interviewer James S. Griffith of "Lydia Mendoza: An Enduring Mexican-American Singer," printed in the original Spanish with an English translation by Griffith (and yes, Jim, "the difficult task of transcribing a language not your own" and the translation came out just fine); Dick Spottswood relating "The Sajewski Story: Eighty Years of Polish Music in Chicago," and finally Norm Cohen and Paul F. Wells of the JEMF offering "Recorded Ethnic Music: A Guide to Resources."

The immediate criticism of the book would be why select the Irish, the Polish, and Lydia Mendoza for special treatment seemingly to exclude so many other traditions. A more thorough reading of the book reveals that the various authors, although working individually, appear to be working in concert since there really is so much breadth presented. Aside from one or two small details, the only real problem with the book is that the Cohen and Wells article was somewhat dated by publication date. The authors are not to be faulted since the period from conception to publication encompassed some five years. Judith McCulloh did the editing, and knowing her work with the "Music in American Life" series of the University of Illinois Press, effectively and judiciously. I am glad to have this long overdue book on my shelves.

--Phil Sonnichsen
Los Angeles, CA

A SOUND OF STRANGERS: MUSICAL CULTURE, ACCULTURATION, AND THE POST-CIVIL WAR ETHNIC AMERICAN, by Nicholas Tawa (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1982); xiii + 304 pp.; \$17.50, clothcovers.

Music was an indispensable accomplishment in many households, not a mere luxury. It was thought of as a grace elevating the immigrant above the American. Thus a Carpatho-Russian writes of his conviction that Americans are "at the bottom of the list in the arts, especially music." Building a skyscraper is more important to them, he claims, than creating a beautiful song. "To the Slav, music is a necessity; to the Anglo-Saxon it is entertainment." Similar sentiments were voiced by writers from almost every ethnic group.

Out of hundreds of similar anecdotal passages, taken from published works of the last three quarters of a century as well as from over a hundred interviews made in the 1960s and seventies by the author with Americans of Albanian, Greek, Italian, Jewish, Lebanese, Syrian, Lithuanian, Portuguese, Polish, Armenian, Czech, Korean, Hungarian, Ukrainian, Sri Lankan, and Chinese descent, Tawa has fashioned an insightful and entertaining account of music acculturation in this country. Focusing as it does on the communities as audience as much as performers, the book makes a complementary companion to the Library of Congress's *Ethnic Recordings in America, A Neglected Heritage* reviewed elsewhere in this issue. As the preceding quotation suggests, and as the enumeration of nationalities of ancestry supports, "ethnic" does not include Irish, Welsh, Cornish, English, Scots, German, French, or Spanish--all groups that had settled in this country before the Civil War and became more or less well integrated by the 1880s. The groups from eastern Europe, the Middle East, and the Orient came later, and they are the focus of Tawa's explorations. To this point--and in particular, to the thrust of the Slav vs. Anglo-Saxon epigram in the quotation above--I shall return at the end of this review.

Music loomed large in the lives of the new immigrants to America's shores in the twentieth century. In the first place, it served to bind communities of common heritage together by means of old familiar songs that evoked fond memories of the old country, and also with new songs in the old language that dealt, often humorously, with the new experiences in the immigrants' new homeland. But the immigrants' music, as well as other aspects of their culture, set them apart from the suspicious and provincial "Americans" into whose midst they moved; and music also became the medium of songs, jests, taunts, and insults hurled at the newcomers from street corners as well as theatre stages. Music was a cultural barrier in another way: many new immigrants were offended by the morality they read into American popular dancing and the music that accompanied it. Consequently they worried about their own children being swept up by it, and redoubled efforts to preserve their own old world culture. These, and other issues, are discussed in Tawa's first chapter, "Backgrounds, American and Foreign."

In the second chapter, "Residents, Musical and Unmusical," Tawa discusses music education within the ethnic communities and attitudes toward music. Many impoverished immigrant parents scraped and saved pennies to give their children music lessons--preferably by a teacher of their own ethnic background--and preferably violin for the boys, and piano for the girls. The next chapter, "The Sounds of Music in the Ethnic Community," deals with the various social functions in which music played a

role. These include, in addition to the ubiquitously celebrated Christmas and Easter, the Portuguese Procession of Santo Christó, the southern-Italian fiesta, Slovakian and Italian harvest festivals and pig parties, the Japanese Obon festival, the Chinese Tsing Ming, and the Jewish high holy days and sabbath. Many groups had community picnics at which music was played, not to mention birthdays, namedays, christenings, confirmations and bar mitzvahs, weddings, wedding anniversaries, homecomings, graduations, etc.

The fourth chapter, "Musical Acculturation and the Crisis of Identity," treats the inevitable problems that accompanied the process of putting the theory of the melting pot into practice. What do the old songs mean to the second or third generation descendants of immigrants? What divisions between parents and children appeared as a result of different attitudes toward new- and old-world music? How do old songs get updated with new words; old texts with new melodies; and American popular songs with old-world nuances to endear them to particular groups? Tawa discusses it all. For example, he notes that some singers of Italian, Jewish, Greek, or Armenian background sing American songs "straight" when performing before general American audiences, but put in gesticulations and nuances peculiar to ethnic performers when singing before audiences of those ethnic backgrounds.

The final chapter touches on a number of interesting and important issues that are still alive in the issue of ethnicity and acculturation. As Tawa notes, while the strength of the ethnic musical traditions within the cultural enclave weakened, the new immigrants--particularly, but not exclusively, the Italians and the Jews--made immense contributions to the field of American popular music. Not only did they become musicians, composers, and singers, but they altered the nature of American pop by introducing musical elements--tune shapes, chord progressions, vocal decorations, etc.--from their own European musical traditions. Tawa offers a sample list of thirty-two successful pop songs of the past hundred years (over half from 1930 or later) that were originally foreign-language compositions later transmogrified into American hits--e.g., "April in Portugal" (Portuguese), "Beer Barrel Polka" (Czech), "Rose, Rose, I Love You" (Chinese), "Goodbye to Rome" (Italian), "Never on Sunday" (Greek), "Two Guitars" (Russian), and "Bei Mir Bist Du Schon" (Yiddish). In the field of art music the ethnic composer's impact has also been significant; Tawa estimates that at least 45 percent of twentieth-century American composers came from the new immigration.

On the question of the survival of ethnic music, Tawa is not optimistic. "The complete jettisoning of ethnic music as cultural baggage seems only a matter of time. This sound is departing from the coffeehouses, restaurants, and bars....Now and again local or nationwide revivals occur; to be ethnic becomes fashionable again. Over the last two decades the author himself has participated in one cultural revival after another, those sponsored by individual ethnic groups, others by a confederation of Greater Boston societies. A few revivals may last longer than a year or two. But nostalgia, an attempt to fill a spiritual vacuum, and a yearning to allay a sense of loss cannot disguise the fact that the simple songs and dances from another era and another world fail to move to a contemporary beat. At first enthusiasm spurs on the renewed pursuit of the traditional music and dance of yesteryear....Regrettably,...each repetition of the festival finds less-enthusiastic participants and smaller audiences" (p. 151).

Readers who have participated in one way or another in nonethnic folk music festivals--blues, bluegrass, Appalachian music, etc.--will perhaps be able to compare Tawa's observations with their own, in a different area. There is a great deal of faddism in folk music revivals and re-revivals. The powerful driving force toward novelty and newness in this country's mores keeps any musical revival from lasting long on a large scale. But on a smaller scale, each festival is successful; each one reaches a few more new converts, and they retain their interest in the music for decades to come. Such revivals cannot, perhaps, persist on a nationwide scale, but in smaller cultural enclaves they can be potent. Bluegrass clubs, mandolin societies, fiddle contests, and the like, operate successfully on a local scale, if not national one. Shall we be satisfied with this?

My final thoughts return to the quotation with which I began this review--the differences in musical "soul" in the American Slav as opposed to the American Anglo-Saxon. Anyone with any experience in the Ozarks or Appalachians knows that music played as much a role there as on the streets of Boston's South End, or Michigan's Hamtramck, or New York's Lower East Side. The Scots and Irish are no less musical than the Italians and Slavs. The difference, though, is two-fold. In the first case, the Western European immigration took place two generations or more earlier. Its descendants have had that much more time to acculturate. Secondly, it should be recalled that the importance of making one's own music in any culture varies inversely to the extent to which mass-produced music is available. Western European immigrants were more urban-based than the East Europeans; when they reached these shores they were carrying a smaller knapsack full of their native folk music and culture. Having started with less, they continued to have less, as time ate holes in the cultural knapsack and allowed the slow spillage of the precious contents.

This is the second book by Tawa (who is a Professor of Music at the University of Massachusetts in Boston) to be reviewed in *JEMFO* (see no. 67/68 for a review of his *Sweet Songs for Gentle Americans*). These two books deal with very different aspects of American music, but both of them are excellent studies of their subject matter, and highly recommended.

VAN MORRISON: *THE MYSTIC'S MUSIC*, by Howard A. DeWitt (Fremont, CA: Horizon Books, 1983); 114pp; illus.; \$10.95.

Historian Howard A. DeWitt has produced a well-written, detailed study on the life and music of Van Morrison. This book is a celebration of Morrison's distinctive evolution as a composer and performer. Although the title alludes to mysticism as the key factor to deciphering Morrison's frequently abstract lyrics, DeWitt's chronologically-structured text cites several other sources of the singer/songwriter's intellectual development: his Belfast upbringing and introduction to the visual imagery of Irish ballads; his literary interests in the works of James Joyce and W. B. Yeats; his early exposure to and continuing interest in all forms of jazz, blues, and country music; and his penchant for continuing experimentation with differing musical styles and performing formats. DeWitt's major contention is that Morrison was not just a typical member of the so-called "British Invasion" of American music during the mid-1960s. However, one cannot deny that like Eric Clapton, Mick Jagger, Eric Burdon, Tom Jones, Joe Cocker, John Lennon, and many other Irish, Welsh, and British artists, Morrison's musical consciousness was greatly influenced by black American performers including John Lee Hooker, Jimmy Reed, Chuck Berry, Slim Harpo, Bo Diddley, Ray Charles, and Muddy Waters.

The uniqueness of *Van Morrison: The Mystic's Music* stems from the author's conception of the primacy of music in the life of a professional musician. This statement may sound simplistic, but it isn't. Most biographers of contemporary composers and performers devote too many pages to peripheral personal relationships and thereby understate the fundamental sources of artistic identity: concerts, recordings, and songs. DeWitt crafts a clear, concise study of Morrison's life in just sixty-one pages. Then he provides lists of the artist's charted 45-rpm songs; a discography of all Morrison singles released by Parrot, Bang, and Warner Brothers Records; all bootleg albums (from *Belfast Cowboy* to *Van Morrison: The Mystic and His Music, Live*); and much additional performance-related information. This book concludes with a thirty-nine-page discography of Morrison's albums beginning with *Them* (1965) and ending with *Inarticulate Speech of the Heart* (1983). This section contains all song titles and composers, an explanation of the production background of each album, song-by-song highlights, and a critical summary of each disc. The details offered in this part of the book alone make the text invaluable for popular music fans and record collectors.

DeWitt's book has several other strengths and weaknesses. The brief sketches of record producer Bert Berns (pp. 21-22) and disc jockey Tom Donahue (pp. 28-29) are excellent; the description of the growth of FM/album-oriented rock radio is skillfully handled; and the author's critical statements about the intellectual shallowness of most pop interviewers and rock journalists are generally on target. The problems with DeWitt's book stem from omissions, some major and some minor. Despite his thorough research on Van Morrison, no resource-identifying footnotes are provided and no general bibliography is included. The absence of an index is also regrettable. In the biographical area, more explanation should have been provided concerning the collapse of Morrison's marriage and the impact of this event on his songwriting.

Van Morrison: The Mystic's Music should be required reading for anyone intending to examine the recording industry from a biographical perspective. This study is more well crafted than DeWitt's previous biography on rock 'n' roll giant Chuck Berry. It is delightful to note that this prolific writer will soon be releasing studies on Elvis Presley's Sun years and on the history of the Yardbirds.

--B. Lee Cooper
Newberry College
Newberry, South Carolina

JAILHOUSE ROCK: *THE BOOTLEG RECORDS OF ELVIS PRESLEY, 1970-1983*, by Lee Cotten and Howard A. DeWitt (Ann Arbor: The Pierian Press, 1983); 367 pp.; illus.; \$17.95 hardback.

The Pierian Press continues to expand its "Rock and Roll Reference Series" with the publication of volume 8--*Jailhouse Rock: The Bootleg Records of Elvis Presley, 1970-1983*. This discographic study, authored by retail record dealer and Presleyana collector Lee Cotten and rock historian and biographer Howard A. DeWitt, provides a wealth of information on a rarely researched topic. The majority of the text (pp. 1-286) consists of magnificently detailed identifications of individual Elvis bootleg albums. Arranged alphabetically by title, the authors provide as much of the following information as possible about each bootleg recording: the name of the "Record Company"; the record number; the date of release; country of origin; song titles included on each side of the record; source(s) of the performance(s); a photograph of the front of the album cover; a detailed description of the record packaging; descriptive and evaluative commentary about the songs performed; and a summary of the album in terms of technical audio quality, packaging attractiveness, and the value of the music on the disc within the total scope of Presley's recorded output.

Beyond the main discography section, *Jailhouse Rock* contains a "Chronological Guide" to the most often bootlegged Elvis Presley performances (ranging from the KWKH "Louisiana Hayride" show of 16 October 1954, to the Indianapolis Concert of 26 June 1977), an alphabetized "Song Title Index for Bootlegged Albums, EPs, and Singles," a list of recordings of Elvis's "Interviews and Press Conferences," selected examples of "Overseas Pirated-Releases of Elvis' Albums," a number of "Bootlegged Novelty Albums About Elvis," a complete bootleg "Label Index," and much more on the other personalities mentioned on the recordings and bootlegged cassette tapes, super-8 films, and even videotapes. Cotten and DeWitt have provided everything imaginable. Not surprisingly, the only book which comes close to offering as much bootleg disc information about a single musical act is the 1981 Pierian Press study *You Can't Do That! Beatles Bootlegs and Novelty Records, 1963-1980* by Charles Reinhart.

Every Elvis Presley fan, record collector, discographer, and rock 'n' roll song buff will want to secure a copy of this fact-laden bootleg encyclopedia. But who else should read this apparently esoteric book? Cotten and DeWitt provide answers to this question in their lengthy, cogent "Introduction." With remarkable objectivity they argue that the emergence of bootleg recording practices were actually fan responses (starting with Frank Sinatra, not Elvis, and extending to Bob Dylan, the Beatles, and the Rolling Stones prior to the post-1970s Presley flood) to the unwillingness of the American commercial recording industry to tape and release concert performances by their contracted artists. Similarly, frequent examples of industry censorship of lyrics referring to sexual relations, drugs, and other controversial topics forced many popular concert songs to be withheld from national release. The rabid enthusiasm of music fans combined with the post-1970 explosion in high-quality audio recording technology spawned a nationwide copyright infringement binge that has lasted for more than a decade.

For Elvis as well as other performers, bootlegging activities included not only the unauthorized taping of concert performances but also making or stealing recordings of pre- and post-concert jam sessions, studio outtakes and false starts, private home strumming sessions, and tapes of other demo tapes. For some, bootleggers were counter-culture vinyl Robin Hoods--robbing from the rich (RCA, Capitol, and Columbia) and sharing the wealth with the poor (the record-hungry fans of Elvis, the Beatles, and Bob Dylan). Cotten and DeWitt note that this over-simplification ignores the meaning of copyright law, glosses over middleman's profits, forgets the problems of bootleg forgeries and fraud, and generally overlooks a dozen other negative implications of the so-called "Rock 'N' Roll Liberation Front" activities. The authors carefully describe this complex organizational dilemma and then invite lawyers, sociologists, businessmen, historians, and persons concerned about contemporary ethics to examine the multi-million dollar bootleg phenomena in American society. The authors don't lionize bootleggers--but they don't condemn them out of hand, either. They note, with conviction and justification, that the RCA Corporation has treated Elvis Presley fans and historians with disdain for decades. Cotten and DeWitt add that only after bootleg-style packaging and song arrangements had taught RCA executives something about "creative" album construction did such innovative commercial items as the Elvis *Legendary Performer* series and the multi-disc *Elvis Aaron Presley* album appear.

Jailhouse Rock is a significant contribution to the study of American popular culture. It examines contemporary life (1970-1983) from varying perspectives of economics, law, sociology, and psychology. Using a dual popularity yardstick--for a person and for a particular style of music--Cotten and DeWitt have thoughtfully probed the responsiveness of a contemporary marketing enterprise to expressed public interest. Ironically, the authors discovered that the "supply and demand" system is sometimes ignored by corporate recording giants. This encourages unscrupulous entrepreneurs to use illegal tactics to provide popular vinyl goods which are restricted from the public via complicated business contracts, paternalistic censorship, and unenforceable copyright laws. The only criticism of the Cotten and DeWitt presentation is that they fail to provide even a selected bibliography on either Elvis Presley recordings (for his Sun/RCA releases in general or his bootleg discs in particular) or on the contemporary debate about modern bootlegging practices. Resources such as those listed below should have been cited:

Elvis Presley: Related Recording Activity

- Aros, Andrew A. *Elvis: His Films and Recordings* (Diamond Bar, CA: Applause Publications, 1980).
 Carr, Roy and Mick Farren, *Elvis Presley: The Complete Illustrated Record* (New York: Harmony Books, 1980).
Elvis Presley Records Checklist, 1954-1977 (Jacksonville, IL: Ladd Publications, Inc., 1977)
 Hawkins, Martin and Colin Escott, *Elvis: The Illustrated Discography* (New York: Omnibus Press, 1981).
 Helinski, Jack and Al Bell, "What's in the Can?" *Music World* No. 88 (August 1981), pp. 8-12.
 Jorgensen, Ernst, Erik Rasmussen, and Johnny Mikkelsen, *Elvis Presley--Recording Sessions* (Beneringen, Denmark: JEE Publications, 1977).
 Kienzle, Rich, "The King on Record," *Country Music* VIII (January-February 1980) 71-75.

Lichter, Paul, "Discography and Films," *The Boy Who Dared to Rock: The Definitive Elvis* (Garden City: Dolphin Books, 1978), pp. 199-298.

Greil, Marcus, "He May Be Dead But He's Still Elvis," *Rolling Stone* No. 327 (2 October 1980), pp. 87-91.

Osborne, Jerry P. and Bruce Hamilton (comps.), *Presleyana* (Phoenix: O'Sullivan Woodside and Company, 1980).

Whisler, John A. (comp.), "Discography" and "Song Title Index," *Elvis Presley: Reference Guide and Discography* (Metuchen: Scarecrow, Inc., 1981), pp. 124-195.

Bootleg Recording Activity

Albertson, Chris, "Benign Piracy," *Stereo Review* XLV (October 1980): 60.

Berkenstadt, James, "Bootlegs vs. Capitol Records: The Continuing Battle Over the Beatle Vaults," *Goldmine* No. 77 (October 1982), p. 16.

Diamond, S. A., "Sound Recordings and Copyright Revision," *Iowa Law Review* LIII (February 1968): 839-869.

Ertegun, Nesuhi, "It's Just Thievery, Mr. Goh," *Billboard* (12 May 1979): 16.

"F.B.I. Raids Net Pirated Albums, Equipment Worth \$100 Million," *Cash Box* LX (16 December 1978): 7.

"Four Called Presley Bootleggers: Charged with Pressing, Distributing Illicit Recordings," *Billboard* (25 December 1982): 6.

Fripp, Robert, "Bootlegging, Royalties, and The Moment," *Musician--Player and Listener* No. 32 (April 1981), p. 28.

Glemser, Kurt, "Editorial," *Hot Wacks Quarterly* I (Spring 1980): 5.

Guralnick, Peter, "The Million Dollar Quartet," *New York Times Magazine* (25 March 1979): 28-30ff.

Mayer, Martin, "Dick Tracy and the Record Pirates," *High Fidelity* XXX (September 1980): 73-75.

McCaghy, Charles H. and R. Serge Denisoff, "Pirates and Politics: An Analysis of Interest Group Conflict," *Deviance, Conflict, and Criminality* (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1973), pp. 297-309.

Schultheiss, Tom, "Everything You Always Wanted to Know about Bootlegs, But Were Too Busy Collecting Them to Ask: A Treatise on the Wages of Sinning for Sound," *You Can't Do That! Beatles' Bootlegs 1963-1980*, edited by Charles Reinhart (Ann Arbor: Pierian Press, 1981), pp. 395-411.

Sippel, John, "Elvis Lives, Especially for the Pirates," *Billboard* (18 June 1983): 3, 72.

Walker, John, "The Bootleg Elvis," *The Complete Elvis*, ed. by Martin Torgoff (New York: Delilah Books, 1982), pp. 92-97.

Walters, Art, "Bootlegging: Plague or Service?" *Record Exchanger* No. 4 (August-September 1970), pp. 6-7.

Whitesell, Rick, "Editorial," *Goldmine* No. 45 (February 1980), p. 5.

Cotten and DeWitt have written a fine, scholarly book. Popular culture researchers, Elvis Presley fans, record company executives, bootleg album collectors, and record store owners should study the text carefully. The commentary should also be examined by media moguls, disc jockeys, corporate businessmen, lawyers, and a wide variety of recording industry personnel. For general readers, the 200 black-and-white bootleg album cover photographs alone are worth the price of admission.

--B. Lee Cooper
Newberry College
Newberry, South Carolina

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JEMF QUARTERLY

DEEP SEA CHANTEYS and Whaling Ballads



THE AMERICAN CLIPPER SHIP, "WITCH OF THE WAVE."

Sung by the Almanac Singers

Edited by John H. Green

A GENERAL RECORDS RELEASE

VOL. XIX

AUTUMN 1983

NO. 71

THE JEMF

The John Edwards Memorial Forum is a research organization, mailing address: at the Folklore and Mythology Center, University of California, Los Angeles 90024. It is chartered as an educational non-profit corporation, supported by gifts and contributions.

The purpose of the JEMFQ is to further the serious study and public recognition of those forms of American traditional music disseminated by commercial media such as print, sound recordings, films, radio, and television. These forms include the music referred to as *cowboy, western, country and western, old time, hillbilly, bluegrass, mountain, country, cajun, sacred, gospel, race, blues, rhythm and blues, jazz, soul, folk rock, rock and roll, and ethnic-American*.

The Forum works toward this goal by compiling, publishing, and distributing bibliographical, discographical, and historical data; reprinting, with permission, pertinent articles originally appearing in books and journals; and reissuing historically significant out-of-print sound recordings

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Dear Editor:

I am sorry that you were not able to include the photographs with my recent article on cajun musician Maius LaFleur (*JEMFQ* #70, pp. 76-79). They were obtained with great difficulty and would have meant a good deal to some of the people whom I interviewed and were kind enough to provide me with information for the story.

--Donald Lee Nelson
Los Angeles, California

[Ed. Note: We regret that an editorial oversight resulted in the photographs not being published with the article and apologize for any inconvenience caused. They are included here.]



Pharmacy where LaFleur's records were sold and played (see story)



LaFleur's Grandmother's house, where he was reared.



LaFleur's father (woman not known)



Maius LaFleur on left

Dear Editor:

I was pleased to see Willie Smyth's article "Country Music in Commercial Motion Pictures" and "Preliminary Index of Country Music Artists and Songs in Commercial Motion Pictures (*JEMFQ* #70, pp. 103-112).

Smyth is correct in saying that the importance of country music on film has been neglected and overlooked, and his work will be useful.

The Country Music Foundation has recently opened a major new permanent exhibit at the Country Music Hall of Fame and Museum entitled "Country Music and The Movies," which utilizes historical film footage, artifacts, and interpretive labels to trace the history of country music in motion pictures from 1929 to the present.

There is an error I noticed in Willie's article that needs to be mentioned. Jimmie Rodgers was not the first country singer to star in a talking movie; Smyth's date of 1928 for Rodger's *The Singing Brakeman* is incorrect. It was filmed in October or November of 1929, and its copyright date is January 27, 1930. Library of Congress copyright dates show this film was predated by at least three other known films featuring country performers and performances, *The Original Hillbillies* with Al Hopkins (March 7, 1929), *The Blue Ridgers* with Cordelia Mayberry (not "Blue Rodgers" as in Smyth's index) (June 12, 1929), and *The Wagon Master*, starring Ken Maynard (June 25, 1929).

Also, I would question Willie's decision to omit "Nashville based Hillbilly musicals." There is not much question that artistically they leave a great deal to be desired. However, they are historically significant and many of them contain performances by important country artists.

--Charlie Seemann
Deputy Director for
Collections & Research
Country Music Foundation, Inc.

A REPORT FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA
ON THE JOHN EDWARDS MEMORIAL COLLECTION

A sealed van holding 929 stoutly and lovingly packed boxes pulled in the loading dock of the University of North Carolina Library at 7:30 a.m. on 21 April 1983. The John Edwards Memorial Collection was arriving at its new home. To meet it, a group of students and faculty members from the Curriculum in Folklore had gathered with Dr. Donald Shaw and his staff from the Media Center (who will be providing technical support to the Collection) and Dr. David Taylor from the Undergraduate Library. Dr. Taylor had offered a sizeable room in his facilities as an interim home for the Collection, and within an hour and a half the work crew had unloaded the boxes and neatly sorted and stacked them around the walls of the room.

That, unfortunately, ended work on the Collection until late August, when graduate assistantships enabled us to assemble a new work crew. By that time construction of a security wall and library stacks had been completed, and we had scrounged file cabinets and tables and typewriters to serve the Collection. Two graduate assistants from the Curriculum in Folklore and one from the School of Library Science began to open, inventory, and shelve the paper materials in the collection, with oversight and advice from Kathryn Logan of the Music Library staff. By the end of the fall term, the Collection could handle urgent research requests for photographs and information from the performer files, song files, and song folios. In January 1984, we brought the UNC Folk Music Archives into the same room, uniting the John Edwards Memorial Collection with the collection that UNC had already been building for a dozen years: several thousand field tapes, out-takes from the documentary film series on which the Curriculum has collaborated with Tom Davenport films, and 2,400 commercially and institutionally released long-playing albums of traditional music. Together, these materials form the nucleus of the Southern Documentary Sound and Film Collection scheduled to occupy nearly half the bottom floor of the Special Collections Library when its renovations are completed in 1986. The John Edwards Memorial Collection will be the crown jewel of these research holdings.

Since its arrival at UNC the John Edwards Memorial Collection has received extraordinary attention from local news media. In response to a story released by the UNC News Bureau, television stations in Durham and Raleigh have carried five-minute features on the Collection, and four local newspapers have carried articles about it. Herschel Freeman, a freelance writer and student of bluegrass history has placed accounts of the Collection in four periodicals widely read in the region. Bland Simpson (author of a novel set in the Country Music world) and Cecelia Conway have written an account of the Collection for *Southern Changes*, published in Atlanta. No other library acquisition has ever provoked such attention within the region.

The Collection is also beginning to receive offers of help. At least a dozen letters and telephone calls have come with offers of volunteer labor in the Collection. These we had to decline for the present, in the absence of a library curator who can oversee and plan all work in the Collection. We have not, however, declined other help that has been offered. The L. J. Skaggs and Mary C. Skaggs Foundation awarded the University \$4,000 for the purchase of equipment for the Collection. Mr. Barrie Bergman, President of The Record Bar, Inc., who is currently teaching a seminar for the University on the recording industry, had also offered equipment and on visiting the Collection added an offer of \$1,000 yearly to support it. Mark Smith of Chapel Hill made the first local donation of research materials: twenty-nine 78-rpm discs that included several by Ma Rainey and Sara Martin and a number by Henry Whitter and Fiddlin' John Carson.

The University has much work to do to build and support the Collection. It needs to create an operating budget for staff, equipment, and supplies, and it needs to develop and imaginative acquisitions program. But it aims to do this and to make the resources of the Collection available as quickly as possible to all those who appreciate and study Southern vernacular music. In the interim we ask for the patience of those needing to do research in the Collection. Any readers wishing to help the collection with financial contributions or the donations of recordings and other research materials are invited to contact the Acting Curator, Daniel W. Patterson, Chairman of the Curriculum in Folklore, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill 27514.

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5216 E. 5TH AVE.
MOLINE, ILL.
W 2-3337

Stand By

JUNE 13, 1936



Radio "Down Under"

Contest
Winners

TEX ATCHISON

STAND BY: JOURNALISTIC RESPONSE
TO A COUNTRY MUSIC RADIO AUDIENCE

by

Jerome D. Traver and Joel M. Maring

[Jerome Traver is a Master's degree candidate in Anthropology at Southern Illinois University, Carbondale. His research interests are in the archaeology of the eastern United States, culture change, ethnomusicology, and country music of the United States. Retired from the U.S. Navy in 1974, he subsequently earned a Bachelor's degree from Western Illinois University in 1980. Current archaeological research involves the acoustical analysis of prehistoric bone whistles and flutes of the eastern U.S.]

Joel M. Maring is Associate Professor of Anthropology at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale. His research interests are in applied linguistics, educational anthropology, and ethnomusicology. With teaching and field research experience in Nigeria, Southeast Asia, New Guinea, and among the Pueblo Indians of the American Southwest, he has published works on the Philippines, Burma, American Indian music, and the Acoma Keresan Indians.

The authors' continuing research project, "The Commercialization of Country/Rural and Traditional Music," was begun in August 1982. Through a grant provided by the Office of Research Development and Administration, SIUC, the project has archived (on tape) and published a catalog of over 5,000 songs and documents for future scholarly country music research at SIUC.]

Country music journalism first gained impetus from fan letters to radio station WLS in the 1930s. A media response to volumes of mail from radio listeners was the publication first of photo albums, later of a radio journal which took into account the fans' interest in country music performers and the desire for photographs and information about these performers. Country music journalism of the 1940s moved into the arena of country music as a national phenomena. The formats of these fan publications have largely been responsive to listener interest, created a forum for fan participation in this music; and provided a means of publicity for the performers. This article reviews the broadcast journal *Stand By* and its leadership role from the perspective of current country music journals.

The printed media has had a much larger impact on fan/performer relationships in the short history of country music than one might garner from scholar Charles Wolfe's article "Modern Country" in the 1979 *Illustrated History of Country Music*. While discussing the advantage of present-day performers in presenting their image, Wolfe states that in the early days of country music there were few ways outside of the phonograph recording itself in which "the personality of a singer could come across to much of his audience." He further states that "there were no fan magazines, no television closeup, no major festivals--no way for a fan to

get to know much about his favorite artist except through his music."¹ There may be, of course, some misinterpretation of what is meant by the generalization "in the early days," but some date after 1922 and before 1949 (or the advent of television) is assumed. That most country performers called a radio station "home" and hence their main method of projecting themselves to their audience, is suggested from a feature found in Volume 1, Number 1 of *Country Song Roundup* (July/August 1949) entitled "Where the Acts are Playing." This feature, from the earliest fan magazine presently being published, lists over 500 country performers and groups and the radio stations with which they were affiliated. In 1949 there were 323 radio stations programming live country music; by 1962 only 81 stations still included country music in their formats. 1962 represents the low point from which current progress has sometimes been marked

Although festivals were to come later, radio station road shows were being sent out by stations like WLS Chicago in the early 1930s. In 1935, two WLS road shows had been on tour for five months in such widely separated areas as Erie and Bradford, Pennsylvania; Jamestown, New York; and various Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois cities.² Country music theme parks seem to have been a post-war phenomenon. In 1947 Doc Williams opened his "Musselman's Grove" near

Altoona, Pennsylvania, with top country stars appearing every Sunday.³ Other methods for fans to get first-hand glimpses of the acts were to visit the performances of the National Barn Dance, the Grand Ole Opry, and the various other Saturday night barndances. The WLS National Barndance began in 1924, very early in the history of commercial country music, and its small 100-seat studio auditorium in Chicago's Sherman Hotel was used from 1925 until 1930. During this period, ticket requests were sometimes filled seven months in advance. In 1930 the Barndance moved to new studio facilities and still could not meet the public demand for tickets. A broadcast of the Barndance from the National Amphitheater in October 1930 drew 20,000 fans, half of whom were turned away. In 1932 the Barndance moved to the Eighth Street Theatre, charged an admission fee, and the 1,200-seat theatre was filled twice during the initial performance.⁴

This article does not suggest that colorful album covers, extensive media exposure, films, festivals, magazines, and newspaper coverage are not important to the image of contemporary artists--rather it suggests that performers in the early days who were affiliated with radio stations (and even some of those who were not) were not totally isolated from audience involvement. The early song portfolio (and financial success) of Bradley Kincaid was a result of radio listener requests to station WLS in 1928, for a book of songs sung by Bradley Kincaid. WLS apparently had no involvement in the sales of this book but later wished to share in the profits.⁵ When Mac and Bob published their portfolio in 1931, the copyright was owned by the Agricultural Broadcasting Company (WLS) and distributed by M. M. Cole Publishing Company. In this portfolio, the story of Mac and Bob was presented on the first pages of the book, as well as a plug for the radio station. M. M. Cole may have decided such an arrangement was unprofitable, since the copyrights to the Arkansas Woodchopper and Gene Autry portfolios in 1932 were owned by the publishing company.

WLS apparently was a leader in establishing the link between fans and performers. After the Prairie Farmer Publishing Company purchased the station from Sears, Roebuck and Company in 1928, they found that so many requests for photographs of the Arkansas Woodchopper and other performers were received that they could not handle all of the requests. As a result, the station put together a portfolio of photographs ("radio pictures") in 1929 in order not to disappoint listeners, and called it the 1930 *Family Album*.⁶ The *Family Album* was published annually up to 1957; WLS was subsequently sold in 1960. Although the station had performers who played other types of music, old-time music was the image generally projected by the station, and the 1934 *Family Album*, for example, featured (on glossy paper) groups and performers such as the Cumberland Ridge Runners, Uncle Ezra, "The Merry Go-Round" (a program of the station), Mac and Bob, the Westerners, Skyland

Scotty, Tom and Don, Arkie, Girls of the Golden West, Lulu Belle, Patsy Montana and the Prairie Ramblers, the Hoosier Hot Shots, Gene Autry, Red Foley, and the Georgia Wildcats. Later issues featured the performers with their families (the 1934 album featured the new babies!). All photos were accompanied by personal information about the performers.

The main concern of this article is the function of country music magazines as a source of fan involvement in the music. A 1980 article by Archie Green (*JEMFO* 59) tracing early country music journals demonstrates that these journals have been a source of audience interest since before 1940. The success of the music song book stems solely from audience interest in the songs and (in most cases) radio performance of their favorite performer or group. Singing cowboys like Gene Autry, Roy Rogers, and the Sons of the Pioneers had additional media exposure via the cowboy films. Many country groups making guest appearances in these films also benefited. For instance, Lulu Belle and Scotty guested with Roy Rogers in the movie *Shine on Harvest Moon*, as well as appearing in eleven other films. A count at radio station WLS in 1944 showed that nearly thirty Barndance performers had appeared in feature films.⁷ Beginning in the 1950s the recording industry promoted music through the use of disc jockies and weekly top record lists. We recall, for example, there were even payola scandals resulting from payments made to push certain records. The net effect, one which still continues today to a lesser extent, was the creation of audience tastes. Listeners came to believe that certain songs were "hits" or certain performers "stars" because they were told so on a daily basis. In a 1977 article about country music radio, Don Cusic slightly misleads readers into believing that country radio was a fairly recent phenomenon because 1,150 stations were playing full-time country music in 1977 as opposed to only 81 in 1962.⁸ Cusic's article should perhaps have pointed out that although country music was indeed gaining listeners from popular and rock music, it had not always had such a low ebb as the 1962 figure seems to indicate. Instead, he suggests that newer is better, that the image of country music has been upgraded, and that we are fortunate to be able to turn on our radios, wherever we might be, and hear our favorite record. Our "favorite recording" is based on the research of the station that uses trade charts, record store sales, and listener requests. Cusic points out the increased station advertisement of the "countrypolitan" sound on billboards, TV, and newspapers. Some of the readers of *Country Song Roundup* have voiced opinions over the years, perhaps in the only forum they know. For example, one writer in 1975 stated:

My point is this--I think it's great that more people are listening to Country Music and that Country Music

is commercially successful. But as a country music fan, I'd rather hear solid country and western tunes on the country radio station than to hear "country-politan" tunes geared to appeal to people who basically don't like country music.⁹

While this listener had his say, he didn't have the input into the industry's ear--or should we say, pocketbook. He did state the case quite well, however. This reaction to the playing of music designed to attract people who basically don't like it is familiar to most of us who are acquainted with "hardcore" country music. However, the phenomenon which produced the early radio fan magazines, especially the publications of WLS, represent a truer cultural function of music, a music which is defined not only by the performer but also by the listener. John Blacking, in his study *How Musical is Man*, notes that,

Insofar as music is a cultural tradition that can be shared and transmitted, it cannot exist unless at least some human beings possess, or have developed, a capacity for structured listening...The continuity of music depends as much on the demands of critical listeners as on a supply of performers.¹⁰

We might further suggest that perhaps the subsequent failure of the WLS National Barndance to maintain its prominent position in country music into the 1950s was because of WLS president Burr ridge Butler's unchanging view of what was suitable home listening fare. James Evans has illustrated Butler's concern that his performers were becoming national stars and Hollywood was beckoning to them, and that he became outspoken if songs were not simple or costumes too modern or flashy.¹¹ Alcohol and tobacco were never advertised on WLS, and Scotty Wiseman was never allowed to perform his 1938 song "Mountain Dew" on the air because it mentioned "giggle-water." Perhaps the "family" atmosphere was too unrealistic for fans which other writers have suggested were ready, following World War II, for songs about cheating, divorce, and drinking--all taboo on WLS.

Archie Green has suggested that more research concerning the early country music journals needs to be done.¹² He has distinguished fan magazines treating a single artist from magazines that approach country music broadly, and has suggested that trade journals and broadcast journals such as *Radio Digest* would not meet the criteria of a magazine devoted solely to country music. If we follow John Blacking's definition of the audience as an equal partner in the musical experience, then we should see evidence of this through the unsolicited response, positive or negative, by the audience. In a live concert this is easy to observe, but in the years when radio was the main medium, the response was through cards and letters. A fan magazine or radio yearbook could bring the participation to full circle. If we look at the

function of the magazines as an avenue of audience participation and a source of information about a favorite group or performer, then at least one broadcast journal should be considered as a significant influence on subsequent country music journals, and the forerunner of this phenomenon. The candidate for this distinction, in lieu of other likely predecessors, is *Stand By*, the news weekly first published 16 February 1935 by the Prairie Farmer Publishing Company, owner of radio station WLS in Chicago. The reason for selecting this journal will be made apparent. The first issue of the new WLS weekly magazine carried the following rationale as presented by WLS president Burr ridge D. Butler:

Our weekly is not to tell you about WLS, but to express WLS. WLS is very human and friendly, and is at its best when it expresses personality in the most natural way. You hear a friendly voice in your home that comes to you out of the air. When the song is finished you wish to know the singer because you warm in response to the personality that beckons to you in friendship so naturally. It is not the art of the play actor culturally correct, but the heart and emotion of the unseen singer that goes out to you in song. And so with paper, type and pictures we wish to express that appealing charm of the new art. Printing is called the art preservative of all arts. Can we, with friendly naturalness, bring each week to our listeners radio in visual form? This is our experiment with our new magazine.¹³

Burr ridge Butler probably will never be honored by installation in the Country Music Hall of Fame for his role in bringing country music or *Stand By* into the listener's home, or for his role in creating an atmosphere of one large listening and performing family. Although he may have been conservative to a fault, some insight into his views that radio was a public service can be seen in "The WLS Creed" prepared by Butler in November 1938. In this creed, radio was seen as a "trust." Butler saw station ownership as a "stewardship, for which we are responsible to the people."¹⁴ In 1930, while fighting for WLS air time before the Federal Radio Commission and the Circuit Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, Butler's newspaper, *Prairie Farmer*, was asking its readers:

Is there a place on the air for the voice of the country--for the songs of the prairies and hills, for the barn dance fiddlers, for the homely virtues of the everyday folks who have made America? We believe that there should be. We are fighting for that place. It is not our fight, but the fight of agriculture.¹⁵

On with the SHOW!



1. On the big stage at the Indiana State Fair, the Barn Dance performance went on for five hours despite rainy weather.

2. Salty Holmes, Chick Hurt and Pat Buttram kept the crowd in gales of laughter with their antics on the muddy race track.

3. For the Alka-Seltzer hour of the National Barn Dance, the entire network crew moved indoors to the Coliseum.

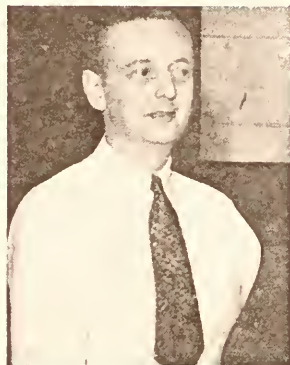
4. Lily May doesn't seem to be worried about the weather. At least she has her usual sunny smile.

5. Winnie, Lou and Sally watch the show with other members of the Barn Dance gang from the rear of the big outdoor stage.

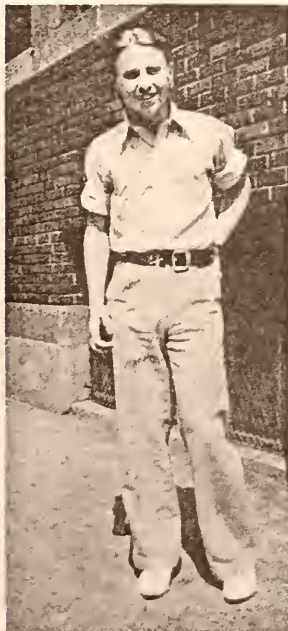
6. No wonder Patsy Montana is so amused. Ernie Newton just appeared on the race track wearing a pair of cardboard snowshoes.



The cast of that brand new show, the Musical Almanac, heard Tuesdays and Thursdays at 12:45 p.m., CST. L. to r., Pat Petterson, Art Janes, Al Rice, Fritz Meissner, Sally Foster, Joe Fredkin, Vic Smith, Jack Daly and Lou Klatt.



A brave caption writer might say the camera gave John Brown the look of a startled faun.



Georgie Goebel, the baseball-playing cowboy, couldn't attend the City Series because of high school classes. George is a senior this year.



Your old friends the Westerners are now being heard each Tuesday through NBC-WLS at 7:00 p.m., CST. L. to r., Milt Mabie, Dott, Louise and Allen Massey and Larry Wellington.



The Monticello Party Line—Hymnsinging by Aggie, Clem and Sara.



Merle Housh gives serious study to the studio clock before announcing the time. As Henry Hornsbuckle, Merle has turned author and his first Stand By "colyum" appears on page 16.

Lulu Belle QUEEN OF ALL RADIO

Belle of the Barn Dance

YOU HAVE SELECTED HER
RADIO QUEEN and now

Stand By
Offers You

\$350.00

IN CASH PRIZES

Here is all you have to do . .

Tell in 50 Words or Less

WHAT YOU LIKE BEST

ABOUT LULU BELLE

AND HER BROADCASTS

Stand By offers 55 cash prizes totaling \$350.00 to find out what you like best about LULU BELLE and her broadcasts.

GRAND PRIZE—NOT ONE—BUT A PAIR OF CRISP NEW ONE HUNDRED DOLLAR BILLS. THINK OF WHAT YOU COULD DO WITH \$200.00 IN CASH JUST BEFORE CHRISTMAS!

BUT HERE IS MORE GOOD NEWS! Stand By has a special gift for every one of you—Lulu Belle's Autograph Book containing the autographs and little personal expressions from more than 100 of your friends and favorites on WLS—Arkie, Fatsy Montana, Dr. Holland, Skyland Scotty, Jolly Joe, Julian Bentley, Uncle Ezra, Pat Buttram and all the rest.

**THE CONTEST WILL BE SIMPLE
HERE'S WHAT TO DO NOW**

To learn how you get your gift—and an opportunity to win \$200.00 in cash, listen to the Merry-Go-Round on WLS, Saturday, 2:30 to 3:00 P.M., CST; the National Barn Dance; also other programs and announcements daily. This contest closes November 25. Don't fail to listen to WLS for all details—then enter at once!

**FIRST
PRIZE
TWO
ONE HUNDRED
DOLLAR BILLS**



ALSO

54 OTHER PRIZES

You have an excellent chance of winning. Listen to the WLS Merry-Go-Round and the National Barn Dance on Saturday for Full Details.





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100 WLS Barn Dance Favorites

50^c

POSTPAID

THIS popular new WLS song book contains the 100 selections most favored by WLS listeners. Each song, complete with words and music, is arranged for both piano and guitar.

Pictures of your favorite WLS entertainers, old and new, appear in this book in connection with their favorite songs. Included are photographs and songs of The Novelodeons, Red Foley, Lulu Belle, Grace Wilson, Pat Buttram, Patsy Montana, Georgie Goebel and many others.

100 WLS Barn Dance Favorites contains three or four times as many numbers as the average folio collection and is, we believe, the biggest and best of its kind ever published. The price is **50c (60c in Canada)**. Send coin or money order to:

100

BARN DANCE FAVORITES

1230 Washington Blvd.

CHICAGO, ILL.



Lone Larpuncher



Rambling Red Foley

The Pictures and Autographs of

Red Foley — Lily May
and
Girls of the Golden West

all on a

Beautiful Imported Linen RADIO SCARF

Size 12 x 32

Color—Cream



A Scarf You Will Be
Proud to Have in your Home.

Yours
as a

GIFT

if you are a user of

PINEX COUGH SYRUP

This Beautiful Pure Linen Radio Scarf is brand new—entirely different—a prize you cannot buy at any price. The pictures of all the Pine Mountain Merry-makers are stamped on this most unusual scarf—and what's more—under each picture is the personal autograph of your Radio favorite. With this beautiful linen scarf you also get 3 skeins of colored thread to embroider the autograph outlines. What a beautiful and welcomed Christmas present this Scarf will make. But our supply is limited—so get yours at once.

Here's what you do—just cut the picture of the Pine Tree off the front of the box your bottle of Pinex comes in (this shows you are a user of Pinex), then write your name and address plainly on the reverse side and enclose this pine tree and twenty-five cents (to cover the cost of handling and mailing). Mail them to Pinex, % WLS, Chicago, Ill., and we will mail your Genuine Linen Radio Scarf to you at once.

For more Complete News about this most unusual gift offer listen
to WLS 1:00 P. M. week days and 6:30 Saturday night Barn Dance.



LULU BELLE and SCOTTY - 1935 - Compliments of Prairie Farmer's New WLS Weekly

Had this struggle been less successful (WLS never did gain full air time), country music may have remained largely a southern phenomena. Instead, the songs of Bradley Kincaid, the Prairie Ramblers, Lulu Belle and Scotty, the Cumberland Ridge Runners, and other groups, were placed before the upper Midwest audience well into the 1950s. The foregoing is illustrative of the sincerity of Butler's message in the first issue of *Stand By*, and enforces the belief that the communication of music preferences was the result of audience participation in the music.

A review of the first issue of *Stand By* carried letters from listeners in various parts of the country: a couple from Texas who enjoyed listening to the Renfro Valley folks; some lumberjacks from Michigan who seldom missed a Barndance program; a couple from Indiana who enjoyed the old songs; one from crew members of a submarine who picked up the National Barndance on a trip to Alaska; a disgruntled Tennessee resident who wanted to hear more Lulu Belle, Skyland Scotty, Arkie, Red Foley, and not so much of some of the others who sing like they had never seen a barndance; and a complaint from another listener who was unhappy because all they heard were hillbilly programs. Under a column entitled "Flashes," information was given about marriages of a couple of Barndance performers; a feature article on page 8, with a photo, carried the story about the recent marriage of Lulu Belle and Scotty. Other articles included columns by various station personnel, including a newsy item that revealed that 1,051,041 letters was the grand total incoming WLS mail in 1934. In this column, entitled "An Open Mike," some information was provided about performers outside of WLS-- Marc Williams, a cowboy crooner from Midlothian, Texas, who learned to wear spats in St. Paul, is battling static at WTIC, Hartford, Connecticut; Texas Ruby Owens auditioned WLS and NBC--members of the WLS Barndance met her in Nashville when the WLS Barndance played there for the Cotton Ginners Convention. Another column told of Gene Autry's return to the Sears "Harmony Ranch" program after being in Hollywood making his new movie, *The Old Santa Fe Trail*. The weekly also presented the schedule of programs and a column entitled "Fanfare," which answered listeners' questions. Other columns kept readers up to date about the WLS road show performances and some advertising about the Alka-Seltzer Barndance and the thirty-eight NBC stations that carried it.

Douglas B. Green has pointed out that the WLS National Barndance was the most important and had the widest coverage of all the radio brandances from 1930 until overshadowed by the "Grand Ole Opry" in 1950.¹⁶ Part of this advantage in the late 1930s (aside from their fifty thousand clear channel watts) may have been their weekly magazine called *Stand By*. This magazine allowed the audience to become

"one of the family." Listeners such as the present writers, who experienced WLS daily and every Saturday night during the 1940s knew the faces through the *Family Album* as well as the voices and antics of WLS personalities such as Pat Buttram, Arkie, and Salty Holmes. *Stand By*, the newsweekly, while described by James Evans as "ill-fated," apparently survived into 1949.¹⁷

The desire of radio listeners of the 1930s for the words to the old time songs was evidently not met by the song portfolios. By mid-July 1935 articles were appearing in *Stand By* about John Lair's music library and the early minstrels. Earlier, in Volume 1 Number 5 (16 March), John Lair had written a feature article entitled "No Hill Billies in Radio," in which he stated that Tin Pan Alley had hung the name on certain types of music (actually Ralph Peer used the name in reference to a Virginia group in the early 1920s that recorded under the name of "The Hillbillies" for Vocalion and "Al Hopkins' Buckle Busters" for Brunswick). Lair preferred to call the performers "mountaineers and folk from the hill country." In this article, Lair was one of the first to point out that many of the songs referred to as "folk" or "traditional" were published some years before. He states that ballad writing was still taking place, based on important, usually tragic, events in the lives of the mountain people. He did make the distinction about the types of songs you might hear hill folk sing--but you wouldn't hear them on radio. By Volume 1 Number 35, Lair had his own column entitled "Notes from the Music Library," which contained information about yo-delling, or song sources; the words were printed for one or more songs such as "The Old Wooden Rocker," "Take Me Back to Renfro Valley" (Lair's composition), "Please Papa Don't Whip Little Ben," "The Sheriff's Sale," "Nobody's Darling," "Danny, Old Horse," "Charlie Brooks," "Whippoorwill's Song," "Rosalee," "The Old Log Barn," "We Sat Beneath the Maple on the Hill," and "Pictures From Life's Other Side." In 1936 WLS issued a portfolio of 100 songs used on the WLS National Barndance, with photos of the performers. M. M. Cole later issued one for the WSM Grand Ole Opry in 1942. By October 1936, a service answering questions about songs had been added, with an offering of photocopying of old songs free of copyright restrictions. It may be noted that a regular feature of *Country Song Roundup* since its inception in 1949 has been printing the words to various country songs, a tradition in country music journalism which began in John Lair's column in *Stand By* in 1935.

Another feature of Lair's column was a song exchange service. This service was begun 26 December 1936 under the heading "Song Exchange" where requests were printed for certain songs, and the suggestion was made that anyone with extra copies communicate with the person who asked for the song. The intent was to encourage song swapping.¹⁸ This service was continued even after Lair left WLS. The 1939 *Song Exchange News*

may possibly have been a participant extension of this service by persons who had already established a network through the addresses first published in *Stand By*.¹⁹

In the Spring of 1936 Lair devoted his column to outlining the various steps necessary in copy-righting a song (good advice is still provided by journals; see Douglas B. Green's "Nashville's Embarrassing Record Rip Offs," *Country Music*, April 1979). The next week Lair followed up with an article about how to sell a song that has been written.

In the other areas of country music journalism *Stand By* devoted space each week to feature a station personality (usually a Barndance member) with cover photo and a brief biographical sketch. Examples of members featured were the DeZurik Sisters; Patsy Montana; other members of the Prairie Ramblers; Arkie; members of the Westerners; Red Foley and other Cumberland Ridge Runners; Winnie, Lou, and Sally; Grace Wilson; Lulu Belle; Scotty; and others. Candid photographs were common also. Feature articles included pieces by Lulu Belle (No. 38) and Bradley Kincaid (No. 40); articles about Gene Autry and Smiley Burnette in Hollywood (1937); as well as one on new member Lily May Ledford in September 1936 (No. 33). Lily May later was the subject of a "Pinex" comic strip carried by *Stand By*, and she subsequently became an initial member of the Renfro Valley Barndance, and leader of the Coon Creek Girls--the first all-female string band.

Stand By featured essay contests, one of which offered a two-hundred-dollar cash prize for the best essay on what the fan liked about Lulu Belle and her broadcasts. An advertiser, Pinex, offered a free radio scarf featuring photos and autographs of Red Foley, the Girls of the Golden West, and Lily May. *Stand By* also offered several features about the early days of radio and the National Barndance. "Those Good Old Days" discussed the early days of 1924 and 1925, and featured photos of Bradley Kincaid, Chubby Parker, and George Dewey Hay.²⁰ Biggar recalled the first Barndance with Tommy Dandurand and his old-time fiddlers. "Barn Dance--Backstage" offered a glimpse of the goings-on before the show began and discussed why the Barndance was so successful.²¹ "Between Shows" looked at performers's activities when they were traveling or seeking recreation between show performances.²²

The "Fanfare" column played the role of the gossip column--offering such bits of information as:

Tommy Dandurand, first old-time fiddler on the first barn dance almost twelve years ago, Chubby Parker, and Olaf the Swede are all engaged in business in Chicago. None of them is doing radio work. Wyn Orr is at WCCO, Minneapolis... Frankie Moore, one of the former Log Cabin Boys is still with WHAS, Louis-

ville; Freddie Owen, the other Log Cabin Boy is at KYW in Philadelphia.²³

"The Old Hayloft" column served to offer tidbits about members of the National Barndance.

Although *Stand By* also covered community events, offered advice to homemakers, fashion, recipes, and information about other music played on the radio, there were virtually no issues that failed to provide information to WLS Barndance fans.

A review of several 1946 issues of *The Mountain Broadcast* and *Prairie Recorder* suggests that the format established by *Stand By* may have been adopted for use by this and later journals. A column called "Corn Belt Comments" by Viola Myers, covered the comings and goings of performers at the various radio stations throughout the Midwest. From Eddie Nesbitt's "A History of *The Mountain Broadcast* and *Prairie Recorder*," we see that orientation toward fans began in 1945.²⁴ Later, *Country Song Roundup*'s 1950 columns such as "Gregory's Question and Answer Column" and "Hollywood Hoedown Lowdown" appeared. *Country Song Roundup* was, of course, the country version of its older sister, *Hit Parader*, published by Charleton Publications in 1942. *Hit Parader*'s early issues sometimes carried photographs of cowboy movies and words to the songs used in them. Later, news columns appeared in *Country Music World*'s 1979 "Nashville Newsletter," *Country Music*'s 1981 "People," and *Country Rhythms*'s 1983 "The Nashville Lowdown," all of which serve the function of informing fans about country music performers.

The one-million-plus letters received by WLS in 1934 suggest a very wide listener involvement in radio--a coverage and response estimated by WLS to be 3 percent of the heads of family of the entire United States.²⁵ That WLS radio in 1934 had a wider audience than *Country Song Roundup* in 1980 is suggested by the latter's 95,000 average issue sales statement. *Country Song Roundup* is, of course, only one of several competing journals that currently provide coverage of country music; all more or less serve the same fan participation functions. In view of the wide WLS audience in the early 1930s, the suggestion that country artists lacked audience contact outside of phonograph recordings somewhat misrepresents the early situation within the listening range of the WLS National Barndance.

It would seem that WLS was not only a pioneer in broadcasting country music programs, but was also a leader in the establishment of the country "star" phenomenon (and called them "stars"):

Here it is--that final honor list you've been waiting for--*Stand By* listeners' first All-Time, All-Star National Barn Dance selections. Incidentally, this is not in the order of their exact standing.

Ramblin' Red Foley, Hoosier Hot Shots, Pat Buttram, Lulu Belle and Skyland Scotty, Cumberland Ridge Runners, and Linda Parker, Uncle Ezra, Girls of the Golden West, Hoosier Sod Busters, Prairie Ramblers and Patsy Montana, Maple City Four, and Otto and the Novelodeons.²⁶

The Prairie Ramblers and Patsy Montana had headed the list for several consecutive weeks prior to this listing. The above "stars" were selected by audience participation, very similar to the way that some honors are given to country stars today.

Fan magazines have come and gone, but the next one always seems to pick up the formula used by earlier magazines. The following is a review of some of the country music journals that have been initiated since 1950. In 1951, Charleton Publishing Company first issued *Cowboy Songs*. The first issues carried only the words to songs, but by Number 14 this magazine was using the same format as its sister publication, *Country Song Roundup*. By Number 22, the publisher was American Folk Publications at the same Derby, Connecticut, address. In July 1956, this publishing company issued Volume 1, Number 1 of *Folk and Country Songs*, which used the same format as *Country Song Roundup*. The Editor was Ed Konick, former assistant editor of *Country Song Roundup*, and Floy Case, formerly of *Mountain Broadcast and Prairie Recorder*, was a staff member. In "Ed's Notes" readers were asked to give it the same support that had been given to *Country Song Roundup*. One journal, *Hillbilly and Cowboy Hit Parade*, was publishing "News in Pictures" and the words and music to country songs in the late 1950s, along with feature articles (a legacy of *The Mountain Broadcast and Prairie Recorder*.) In 1966 Volume 1, Number 1 of *Hoedown* suggests that there had long been a "crying" need for a journal like it. *Hoedown* offered features, country music, history, record reviews, cowboy film stars (another legacy of *Stand By*, *The Mountain Broadcast and Prairie Recorder*, and *Country Song Roundup*), and the various types of columns found in the contemporary journals. *Country Music* entered the picture in 1972 and offered to provide "real" insight into the personalities of country music artists. *Country Music Beat* issued its first volume in January 1975 with features about country music stars, a fan club directory, a "news" column, a "truth" column for people who hate gossip, history, a songwriters survival kit--but somehow missed the singing cowboys. Their goal was to cover the full spectrum of country music, with the suggestion that the fan magazine was as much for city people as the traditional rural country music fan. In 1979 competition expanded with the entrance of *Country Music World* which offered features, history, cowboys, and information on how to write a country song, along with a number of biographical articles and letters. *Country*

Fever issued its first volume in 1980 with features, country awards, stories about the stars, including singing cowboy film star Roy Rogers. *Country Rhythms* was first published in 1982. The current issue (September 1983) carries fan club addresses, letters to the editor, poetry from readers concerning their favorite performers, country cooking, a Dolly Parton centerfold, feature articles about performers, a record column that rates the latest albums, a Gospel column, as well as a Bluegrass and Traditional column, and a country movie review. Letters to the Editor do not differ greatly in content in 1983 from *Stand By* letters of 1937. "Listener's Mike," carried letters from fans who responded when another fan wrote that she was "fed up" with Lulu Belle, the Radio Queen.²⁷ This corresponds to *Country Rhythms* response from fans concerning another fan who preferred Barbara Mandrell to Janie Fricke as Female Vocalist of the Year.²⁸ The issues are the same, only the names and dates are different.

Whether the WLS National Barndance lost its prominent position in country music because of the owner's staunch conservatism or not, the station role in the development of the country music "star" through radio and journalism should not be underestimated. Nostalgia and singing cowboys were important to listeners of WLS in the 1930s and 1940s and were initially a part of *Stand By's* journalistic theme. That these themes have been incorporated into practically every journal since *Stand By* says something about these subjects as items of fan interest. The WLS method of bringing photographs and stories about its performers to the public had the advantage of having an agricultural magazine publisher as an owner, and used these facilities to extend the media projection of "personality" into the home of the radio listener. Advertiser sponsorship of both magazine and station programs helped to underwrite WLS's experiment with *Stand By*. It seems to have been successful for the artists and the station (mail count in first six months of 1936 was over one million letters; total for year, 1,515,901--the largest mail count ever received by a single radio station.²⁹ *Stand By* seems to have been rewarding for the National Barndance fan--as well as for latter-day historians.

Through photographs, biographies, and features *Stand By* offered artist exposure, audience participation through letters, up-to-date information about the artists and their families, printed the words to songs, offered song exchange services, advice to potential songwriters, and brought the country artist visually into the homes of the audience while providing the audience with a glimpse into the history of the music and into the personal lives of the artists. There was an early fan involvement with the performer that has continued up to the present.

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WESTERN SWING REISSUES

by

Bob Pinson

When Decca Records debuted its series of ten-inch Dance-O-Rama LPs of Western Swing music in 1955, featured among the seven simultaneously-released albums (and numerically, the first one in the series) was an exciting reissue of eight sides recorded two decades earlier by Milton Brown and His Brownies. But while Decca's attempts to rekindle an interest in Western Swing in the mid-1950s was laudable, the usual buyers and supporters of this music had become more interested in their newer medium of entertainment: television. As a result, dancehalls that had continued to book the swing bands suffered with declining attendance. To survive as a western swing band, the leader either had to be a recognized giant in the genre, such as Bob Wills, or else had to have carved out a very loyal territorial following along the lines of Hoyle Nix's accomplishment in West Texas. Needless to say, there was no bandwagon effect on the part of other record companies to follow Decca's lead in reissuing such product from their vaults. Columbia did market Bob Wills through its subsidiary label, Harmony, but the emphasis was on Bob Wills as a name, not on Western Swing as a music. Over the ensuing decades, the trend among the major labels in reissuing Western Swing has changed very little. CBS did release "The Bob Wills Anthology" 2-LP set in 1973 (still in print ten years later) and had three relevant releases in 1982: single LPs by Bob Wills and by Spade Cooley in the Columbia Historic Edition series, plus the 2-LP Okeh Western Swing set on their subsidiary Epic label. (All of these were previously reviewed in JEMFQ.) RCA, under the aegis of Frank Driggs, contributed a 2-LP set by Bill Boyd and His Cowboy Ramblers in 1972 and had plans for a similar offering by Milton Brown but it never came to fruition. MCA was dormant in this respect until mid-1982 when a line of LPs in a new Collectibles Series was launched with Steve Hoffman in charge.

Among MCA's initial release of twenty albums, only one country music one was offered: a 12-track western swing LP by (you guessed it!) Milton Brown, MCA-1509. One of the highlights of this LP concerns the superb mastering, which is accomplished by the transfer of the original 78-rpm metal mothers to tape at half speed, thereby eliminating much of the higher frequency surface noise. It is hoped that MCA will continue to use this method on future reissues. The selec-

tions for the Brown offering are reflective of the Brownies's output over their scant two-year recording span--a mixture of titles from the pop and jazz/blues fields primarily. [For album information and full list of titles for this and other LPs reviewed here, please refer to the Appendix at the end of this article--Ed.] All of the sides are from their second Decca session of March, 1936 (a month before Brown's untimely death), except for "Down By the O-H-I-O," an old pop number that affords most of the bandmembers, such as Durwood Brown (Milton's younger brother), Ocie Stockard, and pioneer amplified steel stylist Bob Dunn, opportunities to demonstrate their skills and "Black and White Rag," which features Cecil Brower's superb fiddling and is the only instrumental in the package. Those two particular numbers are from the band's session in Chicago in January, 1935. For the second session, in New Orleans, Brower is joined by Cliff Bruner and some impressive twin fiddle intros result, plus some nice give-and-take fiddle trade-offs on "Coofus." Milton handles the vocals in excellent fashion including a little "scat" work on "Down By the O-H-I-O."

While the major record companies have been rather inactive in reissuing the older western swing product, there has been a marked increase in such activity in the early 1980s among a few private entrepreneurs, but the overall results are mixed. Quality has been sacrificed for quantity and vice versa depending on the producer's outlook. Overall, however, many vintage recordings from the vaults of major recording companies have been made available for public consumption that would never again have seen the light of day on records otherwise.

Standing out as the blue chip company among this small lot would be Mutual Music of San Francisco, the parent company responsible for the Rambler and Western recording labels. Seven of the first eight Rambler releases feature Western Swing, the sole exception being Rambler 106 by jazz guitarist, Oscar Aleman. Three of the albums (101, 102, and 105) are anthological in nature, while the other four concentrate on specific artists. Of the anthological sets, Rambler 102 and 105 are devoted to the pre-War recordings of Texas groups. The first release, Rambler 101, is more of a sampler, the boundaries of which (musically, geographical, and era) are more far-

reaching. Some might debate the inclusion of the Chicago-based, Kentuckian-dominated Prairie Ramblers despite, as the liner notes contend, the band's "close affinity" to the sound of the Southwestern bands. The geographic boundaries are also expanded with the inclusion of western swing groups based in the South (the Nashville-based Curly Williams & His Georgia Peach Pickers) and on the West Coast (Johnny Tyler, Jesse Ashlock, and "m" Texas Tyler) although all three of the latter had Southwestern roots. The recordings span approximately fifteen years from 1935-1949. While a stronger selection of material could have been chosen for a new label's lead-off LP, the album is not void of good tracks either. There are the best-sellers such as "Texas Sand," "Southern Belle (from Nashville Tennessee)" and "Ida! Sweet as Apple Cider," the latter with its wild steel ending by Bob Dunn. The influence of Dunn's pioneering style is readily apparent on Emil Hofner's work on the two Jimmie Revard tracks, "Let Me Live and Love You" and "Old Waterfall." Texas's Curly Williams (not to be confused with the Curly Williams on "Southern Belle") performs the vocals on the Revard sides. Two instrumental selections are included: Roy Newman's Boys contribute "Texas Stomp" with Holly Horton featured on clarinet, as well as a rare inclusion of an accordion (by Bill Staton in this instance). "Tex Tyler Ride" spotlights steel guitarist Noel Boggs despite the reference to Speedy West in the discographical portion of the liner notes.

Rambler 102 and 105 contain tracks by the better Texas bands of the pre-War period, such as the Dallas/Fort Worth based ones of Milton Brown, Bill Boyd, the Light Crust Doughboys, the Saddle Tramps, and Roy Newman; the San Antonio-based Jimmie Revard and the Tune Wranglers bands; and the Houston-based Cliff Bruner, Modern Mountaineers, and Blue Ridge Playboys bands. The songs on Rambler 102 vary in age and background from "They Go Wild Over Me" (popularized in the late teens by comedienne Marion Harris) to two originals ("Wonder Stomp" and "When My Baby Comes to Town") written by bandmembers Tony Scanlin (Texas Wanderers) and Moon Mullican (Modern Mountaineers) respectively at or near the time of recording (1939-40). Sandwiched between are jazz-derived selections, four of which are traceable to Clarence Williams, namely "Gulf Coast Blues," "(The Right Key) But the Wrong Keyhole," "I Ain't Gonna Give Nobody None O' This Jelly Roll," and "I Can't Dance (I Got Ants in My Pants)." In Western Swing circles the best known would be "Easy Ridin' Papa," the standard radio theme for the Light Crust Doughboys and for Bob Wills, but adapted from a recording by Georgia Tom (Dorsey) he had titled as "Eagle Ridin' Papa." Bill Boyd's version of "Jig" is also well remembered with Carroll Hubbard showcased on fiddle. Better known among jazz buffs as "Jig in G," the song's composer, Emilio Cacares, recorded it for the first time in San Antonio on 4 April 1934, immediately after Milton Brown's Brownies had concluded their historic first re-

cording session at the same location.

The choice of songs for Rambler 105 is along the same lines, running the gamut from "pop" titles like "Sweet Jennie Lee" and "Moonlight (sic) Waters" to bandmembers's compositions, such as "Hot as I Am" (J. R. Chatwell), "Pussy, Pussy, Pussy" (Marvin Montgomery), "Trying to be Blue" (Buddy Ray), and jazz or blues favorites like the oft-recorded "Clarinet Marmalade," "Four or Five Times," and "Corrine, Corrina." The liner notes to Rambler 105 are particularly interesting by the inclusion of many first-person accounts of participating musicians.

The Hank Penny release (Rambler 103) concentrates only on his pre-War cuts. The inclusion of a few late forties-early fifties sides would have strengthened the album and given one a better perspective on Penny's western swing output, but the producers may have intentions of offering this material on a subsequent LP. The one song most synonymous with Penny (although it is written by fellow Alabamian Rex Griffin), "Won't You Ride in My Little Red Wagon," is included, but the others are less recalled, owing in part to their brief in-print status. Twenty of Penny's first twenty-six released sides, for example, were in print for no more than a year and a half (and most for less than that!), hardly enough time for the public to discover them. Penny's first composition, "Back Up a Little Bit," falls within this ephemeral category, as do "Mama's Getting Young," "Hot Time Mama," "Sweet Talkin' Mama," "Hesitation Blues," and "All Night and All Day Long" (all included here). "Blue Ridge Blues" (could Chet Atkins and Boudleaux Bryant have had this fiddle tune in mind when they wrote "Country Gentleman"?) is even rarer as it was released only on Sears's Conquerer label. Compiler Cary Ginell (with assistance from Hank Penny and Rich Kienzle) provides ample notes on the songs along with full discographical data. Noteworthy, personnel-wise, are the recording debuts of famed steel guitarist Noel Boggs, and of fiddler Boudleaux Bryant, who would later gain more fame in songwriting circles. Boggs is featured here on three sides from Penny's July 1939 session and Bryant can be heard on the same three sides as well as on four more from June 1940.

Rambler 104 is devoted to the risque material recorded by Dick Hartman's Tennessee Ramblers (augmented by vocalist Betty Lou) and released on Bluebird under the credit of Hartman's Heart Breakers. Not Western Swing in the truest musical sense (even the album's cover describes it as "hot hillbilly rhythm"), similar material is not unusual among the repertoires of western swing groups with the best example from this album being "Fetch it Down to My House." "No Hug-gin' or Kissin'" is simply "Mama Don't Allow," but with lyrics changed to reflect the disallowance of love-making acts, as opposed to music making ones. While these ten sides represent the total released output of the Heart Breakers, ten more selections by them remain unissued by the parent company, RCA.

Similarly, all of the pre-War releases involving Smokey Wood are re-released on Rambler 107, but three of his 1937 efforts have never been issued: two from his Wood Chips session and one from his Mountaineers session. Since Wood had only one recording session with his own band, it became necessary also to employ the eight released sides from Wood's earlier work with the Modern Mountaineers as a means of constituting a full album. Wood performed vocally, in addition to playing piano, on all of these Mountaineers sides except "Mississippi Sandman," which is rendered by hornman, Hal Hebert, whom Wood had brought into the band. Wood performs similar chores on the eight Wood Chips sides. The overall song mix of "blues, jive and pop" is what one might expect of a western swing (or western jazz, if you prefer) group of this era. In addition, there are originals like "Everybody's Truckin'," "Mississippi Sandman," and, perhaps, others. Even the mid-nineteenth century piece "Carry Me Back to (Old) Virginny" is performed, but Wood was obviously not comfortable with it and one must wonder why he recorded it. Jimmie Rodgers's "Traveling Blues" (as "Wood's Traveling Blues") gets better treatment as does another tune based in country music, "Keep On Truckin'," which stems from the "Sandy Land," "Ya Gotta Quit Kickin' My Dog Around" family. Wood's own band is showcased well on "Ridin' to Glory," which the "wa-wa" trumpeter Clyde McCoy had recorded earlier. The superb liner notes and discographical data by Marty Pahls and Jeff Richardson shed more light on Wood's life and music than has been previously known and thus serve as the primary reference source on the artist. Liberally sprinkled with quotes from Wood's acquaintances, the notes about this "original Texas underground musical outlaw" are eye-opening and make for very interesting reading.

Equal research went into the same duo's liner notes for Rambler 108 by Jimmie Revard. Again, they provide the best reference tool currently available for the artist. A full LP of the unsung Revard's western swing material has long been overdue and this one fills the bill. In terms of origin the selections are a little more balanced here. The country music aficionado will readily recognize songs like "Daddy's Got the Deep Elm Blues," "Riding Down the Canyon," and "Craftern Blues," the latter no doubt learned by fiddler Ben McKay from fellow fiddler Cecil Brower, who had waxed it with Milton Brown's band in 1935. As the liner notes point out, the tune is based (although rather loosely, I'd say) on the old fiddle tune "Brown Skin Girl," the authorship of which has been attributed variously to Eck Robertson and/or Lefty Franklin. Better known jazz items include Richard M. Jones's "Trouble in Mind," a tune titled "Big Daddy Blues" which is better known as "Here's Your Opportunity," and an early thirties favorite "Bound to Look Like a Monkey." Except for Jimmie's own clarinet on "Oh! Swing It," the instrumentation is not unlike that of the Bill Boyd or Milton Brown bands wherein stringed instruments prevailed. Accord-

dionist Cal Callison is also present on two sessions, but his role here is a subdued one except for his intro to "(House) At the End of the Lane." Revard continues to be musically active and another release of more recent product is planned by the company.

While Mutual Music's Rambler label has concentrated on the pre-War era, the company's Western label has focused on the post-War period. Western 2001 features the king of the Hillbilly Piano Players, Moon Mullican. Moon's participation on vintage western swing recordings has been chronicled in the notes to Rambler 102 and 105, and a future album from Mutual will be devoted to original recordings that feature Moon from the 1930s to the early forties. After those "dues-paying" days, Moon organized his own band in 1943 but it was not until 1946 that Moon landed his own recording contract with King Records, from whose vault these sixteen sides are taken. While not all of the tracks would be classified as western swing, per se, enough of them do qualify to warrant inclusion here. Mullican favorites, such as "Cherokee Boogie" and "Pipeliner's Blues" are included along with songs of R&B origin like "Grandpa Stole My Baby" and "Well, Oh Well," plus two selections Moon recorded with Boyd Bennett and the Rockets in 1956, "Seven Nights to Rock" and "I'm Mad With You." Earlier cuts on the album are, predictably, more western swing in nature such as "Triffin' Woman," a song with similarities to "Deel Elm Blues," and "Don't Ever Take My Picture Down" and the only instrumental in the set, "Shoot the Moon." Rich Kienzle's well-written liner notes offer good insight into Mullican's musical career and influences as well as Moon's own influence on Jerry Lee Lewis and Mickey Gilley among others.

Western 2002 is comprised of some of the best tracks ever recorded by Billy Jack Wills's band which headquartered in Sacramento, California, during 1950-54. Originally recorded on transcription discs these songs are now available to the public for the first time. As liner note writer, Rich Kienzle points out that these recordings contain more "adventuresome spirit" than did Billy's commercial recordings. While the band of six was small in number, their fine musicianship (most members played more than one instrument) and pure drive provided more than adequate compensation. Nothing was musically out-of-bounds. While Billy Jack was titular bandleader, electric mandolin virtuoso Tiny Moore is more prominent. He performs six of the seven vocal selections on the album, ranging from the old jazz favorites "St. Louis Blues" and "Basin Street Blues" to Willie Mabon's "I Don't Know," all in addition to his mandolin and fiddle work on the nine instrumental tracks. Billy Jack provided the drum work but only one vocal, Moon Mullican's "Lonesome Hearted Blues." The liner notes provide good background on the musicianship as well as historic origin for each selection.

Whereas Billy Jack Wills's domain was the Sacramento Valley, Jimmie Rivers and the Cherokees's territory was primarily the San Francisco Bay Area. Outside of backing up Tommy Duncan on a few independent label recordings, plus a release or two of his own on Cavalier, Rivers's commercial recording activity was sparse. Luckily, however, by the early 1960s (when these recordings were made) tape recorders were becoming common and Rivers's steel guitarist, Vance Terry (who also performs on the Billy Jack Wills LP sides), owned a small tape unit and "just hooked it up and let it run" at the cite for these 1961-64 recordings, the 23 Club in Brisbane, California. The Cherokees were the Club's house band during these years, but other bands (including Bob Wills's) would be booked in for one-nighters. Rich Kienzie's liner notes set the scene well by providing background on all the elements involved: Brisbane, the 23 Club and owner John DeMarco, Rivers, band personnel data, and the songs. Regarding the latter, eleven of the twelve cuts are instrumentals--the only vocal being Gene Duncan's treatment of the Cindy Walker tune "It's All Your Fault." Most of the instrumentals are jazz-rooted, but two will be recognized by the country music devotee: Noel Boggs's "Steelin' Home" which spotlights Vance Terry's admirable "steelin'" here and the late Jimmy Bryant's "Jamin' With Jimmy" with Rivers giving his own interpretation on lead guitar. Western Swing's popularity on commercial recordings had long since waned by the early 1960s, but this album does provide an isolated example that the music was continuing to survive (with smaller combos) in many similar clubs of the Southwest and West Coast.

In addition to the two Western Swing sampler LPs from Rambler, three more such volumes (Vols. 6-8) have been released on Chris Strachwitz's Old Timey label. For these releases, the concentration is strictly on the post-WWII period of the mid-1940s to the mid-1950s and the album titles appropriately reflect the added inclusions of Blues, Honky Tonk, and Boogie styles. While most of the songs themselves date from the same time frame as the recordings, in a few instances the artists employed older material, such as "Spanish Two-Step," "Trouble in Mind," "C-Jam Blues," "My Bucket's Got a Hole in It," "Mississippi River Blues," "Old Fashioned Love" (Tyler uses former Wills sidemen Danny Alguire, Noel Boggs, and Jimmy Wyble here), and "Old Cow Blues" ("Milk Cow Blues"). "Wrong Road Blues" owes much to "Milk Cow Blues" as well. Similar indebtedness would be due to "In the Mood" for "Williams Rag"; "Move it On Over" and similar tunes for "We Got Good Business"; "Kansas City Blues" for "Heebie Jeebie Blues"; and "Time After Time" for "Too Many Blues." "Al's Steel Guitar Wobble" has flavorings of other steel numbers ranging from "Steel Guitar Rag" and "Panhandle Rag" to "Georgia Steel Guitar" to "Beer Parlor Jive" or "New Fort Worth Rag." Similar borrowing is evident on "Safety Pin Rag" wherein the steel guitarist steals from Leon McAuliffe's break on Bob Wills's 1940 recording of "Lone Star Rag." Two

items, "Are You From Dixie" and "Greenback Dollar," seem out of place here and would be better suited for inclusion in a Southeastern duet type album. Informative, but brief, liner notes are provided by Tony Russell for each album. Data on original releases are also provided in a very abbreviated format, but it takes a fairly experienced record collector to decipher them.

Origin Records re-entered the reissue market in early 1981 with a reissue LP of Ocie Stockard's Bluebird sides (previously reviewed in *JEMFQ*) but has had only one release since that time--OJL 8102 consisting of fourteen sides by Roy Newman and His Boys, which was released later the same year. Compiler and song annotator Cary Ginell's selections for the album lean heavily toward the jazz and blues numbers, which indeed do mirror Newman's total recorded repertoire, as Newman recorded less of the country music-based material than did Boyd or Wills for example. Through the use of various interviews with former Newman bandmembers (as well as with Newman himself), Ginell puts Newman's contributions to Western Swing into a proper perspective and sheds more light on the band's personnel make-up from session to session than was previously known. Holly Horton's clarinet antics are discussed at some length by Ginell and Origin's owner, Bill Givens, within the confines of the liner notes, with Givens being the more supportive of the two. Although aware of the album's production, Newman passed away in February 1981 prior to the album's release.

For sheer quantity Alan Roberts's company, Texas Rose (named after Kitty Williamson, who performed as Texas Rose with W. Lee O'Daniel's Hillbilly Boys), leads the way with a total of nine western swing reissues as of October 1983. All were released within a time frame of less than a year and a half and each focuses on a Texas or Oklahoma band from the pre-War years. Unfortunately, the overall quality of these offerings does not measure up to that of the competition. Perhaps it is a case of too much product being generated too quickly. Apparently, some unrealistic deadlines were self-imposed which, therefore, did not allow for an adequate search to be conducted for locating the best copies of the 78-rpm commercial recordings from which to prepare the master tapes. While most of the tracks are indeed mastered from relatively clean discs, some are not, despite their non-rarity. A further detraction from the sound quality involves the pressing plant's use of what seems to be a substandard vinyl material for these albums. This results in added surface noise which is quite audible even between the tracks. On the plus side, the consumer does get fourteen to eighteen selections per disc along with recording dates and session personnel. Also, each album sports a fold-out jacket, allowing for more photographs and larger print.

The first album in the series (TXR 2701) is by Bill Boyd's Cowboy Ramblers and is the only one in the series so far to employ any post-War

recordings--in this case Boyd's best-seller "Roadside Rag" from 1945 which features steel guitarist Andy Schroder, who had also cut it prior to the war for the Hi Flyers, and two more songs from 1947, "Yes You Did" and "Texas Blues," the latter an instrumental bringing forth Noel Boggs on steel. Other instrumentals include a nice version of "Right Or Wrong" spotlighting the twin fiddles of Cecil Brower and J. R. Chatwell and "Boyd's Blues" with Art Davis supplying the fiddle lead. Better known as "Weary Blues" and oft-recorded by jazz groups, it was composed back in the 'teens by ragtime pianist Artie Matthews. Davis himself had also fiddled it earlier as "Weary Blues" on Roy Newman's 1934 session. But, as compiler/annotator Gary Ginell (who performed these duties for all of the Texas Rose product) points out, the Boyd and Newman bands were basically radio bands on station WRR, and some musicians such as Davis would perform with both aggregations. Therefore, with no real need to employ a large band of his own on a full-time basis, Boyd, at recording session time, would simply resort to selecting from the wide array of musicians from the Dallas/Fort Worth area that would be available for such duty. This explains why so many prominent western swing musicians wound up participating on Boyd's sessions. On this album alone, one can hear the likes of the fiddlers previously mentioned plus Jesse Ashlock, Carroll Hubbard, and Kenneth Pitts; steel guitarists Lefty Perkins, John Boyd, Andy Schroder, and Noel Boggs; various pianists with "Knocky" Parker being the best known; etc. With nine separate recording sessions involved on this LP, it is interesting to see the evolution of the band from a small cowboy band of only four pieces in 1934 to a full-fledged western swing band with as many as ten musicians later on.

The Fort Worth-based Hillbilly Boys, led by flour salesman/politician W. Lee O'Daniel, are starred on TXR 2702. While songs are selected from each of O'Daniel's post-Light Crust Doughboy sessions, certain songs that are strongly associated with O'Daniel are strangely omitted, such as "Beautiful Texas," "Put Me in Your Pocket," and "Please Pass the Biscuits, Pappy." Leon Huff performs all of the vocal selections except two: "Baby, Won't You Please Come Home" by Texas Rose (Kitty Williamson) and "San Antonio" by June Whalin on lead, but in duet with Huff on the chorus. The Hillbilly Boys recorded very few instrumental numbers, but one is included here: "Get Hot," featuring Lefty Perkins on steel and interspersed with hot fiddle breaks by Carroll Hubbard.

The song selection process is much better on TXR 2703 by the Tune Wranglers, a popular western swing band from San Antonio. Favorites such as "El Rancho Grande" and "Hawaiian Honeymoon" are included. The latter was written by Wranglers' steel guitarist, Eddie Duncan, and rivaled "Texas Sand" for the number one spot in popularity among the Tune Wranglers recordings. Instrumental selections include "Rainbow," "Let's Go," "Blue

Bonnet Rhythm," and "Shawnee," the latter actually being the jazz number "There'll Come a Time." A Blues favorite, Tampa Red's and Georgia Tom's "It's Tight Like That" is titled here as "Red's Tight Like That" as a tie-in to vocalist Red Brown. Similarly, the traditional "Crawdadd Song" is retitled as "Buster's Crawdad Song" in deference to Buster Coward's rendering. Another interesting inclusion is "Chopo," the first commercial recording of a poem that was written by pioneer cowboy song collector N. Howard "Jack" Thorp about his own horse's dependability. Also included are a few songs from the "pop" field, such as "Yesterday," and "Oh, Look at that Baby."

Meanwhile, back to Fort Worth and the bands of the Light Crust Doughboys, Hi Flyers and Milton Brown on TXR 2704, TXR 2705 and TXR 2706 respectively. The selections for the Doughboys album are culled from their jazziest period (1936-1939) and, therefore, should not be construed as indicative of Doughboys repertoire throughout their fifty years of existence. In fact, all of the selections here have a jazz/blues performance bent to them whether they be older traditional numbers or newly-penned ones by Doughboys bandmembers such as lead guitarist Muryel Campbell's "Dirty Dish Rag Blues" (with vocal by Jim Boyd), deluxe banjoist Marvin Montgomery's "Did You Ever Hear a String Band Swing?" and "Pussy, Pussy, Pussy" (I think I once heard "Knocky" Parker refer to Montgomery as a master in pornographic symbolism!), Parker's own risqué offering "Mama Gets What She Wants," plus the joint composition by Parker, Montgomery and Campbell, "Mama Won't Let Me," an instrumental selection despite what the title might lead you to believe. Other instrumental selections are: Joe Sullivan's well-known "Little Rock Getaway," a Duke Ellington-Johnny Hodges favorite, "(New) Jeep's Blues," and the Al Jolson-Vincent Rose tune "Avalon." Dick Reinhardt contributes six strong vocals ranging from one of the Mississippi Sheiks best-remembered tunes "Sitting On Top of the World" to "Waiting for the Robert E. Lee."

The Hi Flyers existed in name before any of the other bands now associated with Western Swing, having been formed in 1929. In fact, they even cut a mini-session for Brunswick/Vocalion that year, but nothing was released. However, it is highly doubtful that the music from that session would be considered Western Swing in nature and it would be another eight years before a Hi Flyers band would again record. But from 1937-1941, the band did record sixty-eight sides before World War II finally broke up the group. TXR 2705 presents sixteen tracks taken from six of the band's seven sessions with only their 1939 session not represented. There's an even mix of instrumentals with vocals--eight each. Better known instrumentals, such as "Under the Double Eagle," "Joe Turner Blues," and Curt Massey's "Dragging the Bow" are mixed with bandmembers' compositions like Andy Schroder's "Roadside Rag" and "Reno Street Blues," Sheldon Bennett's "Juke Box Jump" and Darrel Kirkpatrick's "Hi-Flyer

Stomp," which he had called "Hillbilly Stomp" when he first recorded it as a member of W. Lee O'Daniel's Hillbilly Boys in 1935. Unlike the instrumentals, all of the vocal numbers are from the pens of bandmembers such as the aforementioned Sheldon Bennett and Andy Schroder, as well as Buster Ferguson's "Honky-Tonk Jump," "Watcha Gonna Do," and "Blonde Headed Woman," Willie Wells's "The Five-Piece Band," Zack Hurt's "Old Tobacco Mill" (a "Grandfather's Clock" flavored tune), and Sleepy Johnson's "I'm Sorry Now."

The Milton Brown band's entire output of eighteen recordings for RCA's Bluebird label in 1934 is presented on TXR 2706. The cuts on these sessions are generally regarded as the first for what is now referred to as Western Swing music. As is par for a western swing bandleader, Brown's selection of material runs the gamut from old popular tunes like "I'd Love to Live in Loveland" (titled here as "Love Land and You"); "Hula Lou" (here as "Do the Hula Lou"), which was initially popularized by Sophie Tucker and recorded first in country music by the Carolina Tar Heels; and "Girl Of My Dreams" to jazz/blues items such as "Careless Love" (here as "Loveless Love"); "Garbage Man Blues"; the previously-mentioned "Just Sitting on Top of the World" and another Mississippi Sheiks item, "Corrine Corrina" (here as "Where Have You been so Long, Corrine?"); to Brown's own songs, "My Precious Sonny Boy," "Brownie's Stomp," and "Swinging on the Garden Gate," to traditional country selections like "Get Along (Home) Cindy," "This Morning, This Evening, So Soon" (also known as "Tell Old Bill" and later retitled by Bob Wills as "I Had a Little Mule"), and "Trinity Waltz" (popular among Texas fiddlers as "Kelly Waltz").

Formed originally in 1934 by ex-Texas Playboy Don Ivey, the Alabama Boys called Tulsa their home (despite their band name) during the mid-1930s. Shortly before the band's breakup, the band recorded fifteen sides for Decca in December 1937, and all of the fourteen that were released are reissued on TXR 2707. The only unreleased item was "Josephine," which is most likely the old Wayne King instrumental favorite. Dave Edwards, it might be added, was a Tulsa grocery store owner who liked the Alabama Boys' music and had taken over their managerial reins at the time these recordings were made; he was not a musician. Had the band been recorded a year or so earlier, the sound would have included a brass section and been more reflective of the band's heyday. Also, recording director Dave Kapp's pre-planning of most of the song selections for the session represents a further intrusion. No one knows what the band (which contained several Texas Playboys-to-be) might have cut had they planned it all themselves. All of the vocals are nicely done by fiddler Cotton Thompson with assistance from Bud McDonald on harmony numbers. Two instrumentals were done: "Sigh and Cry Blues" and "Blue Man's Blues," a fiddle tune which Bill Boyd's band had cut earlier as "Rambler's Rag."

Amarillo, Texas, served as headquarters for the Sons of the West band featured on TXR 2708. Formed initially in Fort Worth by bassman Son Lansford in the summer of 1936, the band made little or no effort to buck the competition of established Fort Worth groups and, shortly after formation, chose Amarillo as home base. The band cut ten sides for Decca in 1938 and eight for Okeh in 1941 and all but two of those sides are included. Two sides cut for Okeh and only released on Conqueror are omitted. Son Lansford had left the band before their recording activity and leadership was relinquished to Jimmie Meek, who performed all of the lead vocals on their recordings. The selections on their Decca session were mostly from the "pop" field, although one Jimmie Meek original, "Visions of the Past," was included. Another noteworthy inclusion is "There's Evil in You Chillun," written by guitarist Snooper Quinn who recorded it with Jimmie Davis in 1931. Conversely, the Okeh session focused strictly on *new* compositions by members of the band, such as Jimmie Meek's best-selling "Sally's Got a Wooden Leg." Their only instrumental, Billy Briggs's "Panhandle Shuffle," featured Pat Trotter's lead work on fiddle, with Billy's steel having a more subservient role.

As one might expect, Western Swing's most celebrated performer, Bob Wills, has certainly had his share of reissues on various labels, including TXR 2709. With the exception of the Fort Worth Doughboys' cut of "Sunbonnet Sue," this album's selections are from Wills's prime Tulsa period and the concentration is on the material with jazz/blues origins. To make the album more appealing for the advanced collector, alternate recording takes are provided for "Swing Blues #1," "St. Louis Blues," and "Tulsa Stomp." Other than "Sunbonnet Sue," the rarer 78-rpm sides would be: "Black Rider," a Richard M. Jones jazz number; "Bluin' the Blues," an instrumental dating back to 1918 when it was recorded by the Original Dixieland Jazz Band; and "Weary of the Same Ol' Stuff," which Bill Gaither had waxed earlier as "Tired of the Same Thing All the Time" but perhaps there are other early recordings of it as well.

CBS Special Products, supposedly in conjunction with Safeway Stores also has released a 14-track LP of Wills's recordings, CSP P15813, but the distribution of the album (also available in cassette) has been poor. The package contains no liner notes or discographical data, but the inclusion of some previously unreleased material makes it a natural collectible. The previously unissued items are: "There's No Disappointment in Heaven" (with Wills doing the vocal on his favorite sacred song), "La Poloma," and "Just a Plain Old Country Boy" (not to be confused with the Little Jimmie Dickens tune). Also included are previously unreleased takes for "Tulsa Stomp" and "Texarkana Baby," plus a rare take #1 on "Steel Guitar Rag." This particular take was released (probably unintentionally) on some Okeh pressings, but few seem to have survived.

Time-Life TLCW-07, a boxed set of three LPs in the company's Country & Western Classics series, is the most encompassing re-release of Wills material that's been done to date. The set begins with three cuts from the first Texas Playboys session in 1935 and ends with two early 1960s Liberty recordings. Among the total of forty selections, there are eleven from the 1930s, including two previously unreleased sides, "I've Got the Wonder Where She Went (Blues)," done simply yet very effectively, with Tommy Duncan doing a fine vocal and Wills supplying a nice fiddle obligato for back-up along with a light rhythmic accompaniment; and "Down Hearted Blues," an old Bessie Smith favorite which Bob performs vocally. Duncan performs a spirited vocal on "She's Killing Me," a lyric that Claude Nichols penned to the old fiddle tune, "East Tennessee Blues," and which Claude and his brother recorded some five years earlier in 1931. Equally spirited is a rock-jamming instrumental, "Liza Pull Down the Shades." Wills's fiddle comes to the fore on his first recording of "Spanish Two Step" and on "Smith's Reel," with Sleepy Johnson supplying the fine accompaniment on guitar for the latter. Twenty-five titles are chosen from the 1940s, a decade that witnessed the transition from a larger-sized swing band replete with brass to a stringed instrument group augmented with Alex Brashear's trumpet. Among these twenty-five tracks are eight more previously-unreleased songs: a rollicking rendition of Franz Liszt's "Liebestraum"; "Don't Count Your Chickens," "Drop Us Off at Bob's Place," "Bluer than Blue," and "Virginia," plus alternate takes for "Ten Years," "Miss Molly," and a new version of "New San Antonio Rose," which combines the fiddles reminiscent of the 1938 instrumental recording with the horn section that recalls the 1940 vocal version that became such a smash hit. Perhaps this combined rendition was the way the band was performing it for dances in 1941. Three of the 1940s tracks ("Don't be Ashamed of Your Age," "Sally Gooden," and "Boot Heel Drag") are from Wills's period with MGM Records. The fourth cut, "Faded Love," is the original vocal version from 1950 while "Maiden's Prayer" is a later (1954) vocal rendition by Lee Ross. From the 1960s come Lee Ross's composition, "Heart to Heart Talk," a Top-10 charter for Bob and Tommy in 1960, and "The Job Rag," featuring Joe Holley and Bob on fiddles which they had done earlier (with vocal) as "That Hot Lick Fiddlin' Man" for Columbia. The set is accompanied with a very informative 24-page booklet on Wills and his music that was written and compiled by Rich Kienzle.

Also from Time-Life (in their budget-priced supermarket series) comes Time-Life P 15836 STW-119, a nine-track album comprised of some of Wills's biggest hits from 1936-1946. The only surprise among the selections is a previously-unreleased take on "Sugar Moon." The versions of the other eight songs are the very familiar ones. The mastering is flawless. Charles Wolfe contributes a fine set of liner notes.

Fourteen tracks from the legendary Tiffany Transcriptions of 1946-47 comprise the Wills offering on Kaleidoscope F-16. Thanks to an agreement between Kaleidoscope and the family of the late Cliff Sundin, who founded Tiffany Music, this could be the first of ten or more albums from a catalogue of more than 370 songs Wills and the band recorded for purposes of radio syndication by Tiffany during this time frame. Unfortunately, the syndication effort barely got off the ground before disagreements among the three parties involved forced the series to be withdrawn from the market. Luckily, however, Sundin saved the original acetates over the years, along with the recording data, and the public now stands to benefit from his act of preservation. While all of the album tracks would be considered rare, eight of the fourteen tracks on this leadoff album consist of ultra-rare product that hasn't been heard by any Wills collector since these particular selections were not even pressed on to the 16" Tiffany ET discs. Five of these eight titles were recorded by Wills on earlier commercial recordings, such as "Nancy Jane," which he had cut with the Fort Worth Doughboys in 1932, and "Cotton Patch Blues" which he recorded for MGM less than two months prior to this recording. But "Mission to Moscow" and "Jumpin' at the Woodside," instrumentals from the Benny Goodman and Count Basie catalogues respectively, plus the 1925 hit "Dinah" are titles Wills had not cut previously at all. Recording dates and personnel are supplied for each selection. It might be noted that the album's producers, Jeff Axelson and Tom Diamant, won a first place award from the National Association of Independent Record Distributors (NAIRD) for album design in conjunction with this reissue.

From mid-1940s "radio shows" come the fifteen selections on Longhorn KK-011. Most of the songs are from broadcasts done when the Wills band was on radio in Northern and Central California, but two tracks, "Sunbonnet Sue" and "Bob Wills Special," are recordings from Armed Forces Radio Service sessions. Among the titles less associated with Wills are instrumentals like "Crafton Blues," a fiddle number performed here in grand style by Joe Holley and a band-swinging piece, "Seven Miles Out of Town," plus lyricized efforts, such as Junior Barnard's vocal on "When They Baptised Sister Lucy Lee" and Duncan's and Wills's duet on "31st Street Blues," a number the band had cut originally back in 1937, but that was never released. Perhaps this later version hints as to how it may have been performed on the original session.

Also from transcribed sources are the selections on Longhorn LH-1236 by Pee Wee King's Golden West Cowboys. Cut during King's heyday as a commercial recording artist, most (if not all) of these tracks seem to be from the Standard Transcription Library. The smooth, rich baritone vocals by Redd Stewart highlight the album, including King favorites like "Crying Steel Guitar Waltz" and "Silver and Gold." Redd's brother,

Gene, who performs on bass, also contributes a fine vocal on "Ramblin' Blues," while guitarist Chuck Wiggins sings the novel ditty "Tain't What You Want." The band is a tightly knit unit, both on the vocals and on the three instrumental selections, "Charleston Alley," "Mohegas," and "Cowboy Special." The multi-fiddle work is particularly outstanding, as is the flawless mastering for the album, making it all the more listenable.

The booby prize award for the Western Swing reissue competition goes to Aolt 101. Ostensibly featuring the Light Crust Doughboys, in reality only four sides of the twelve are by the Doughboys while the other eight are actually by W. Lee O'Daniel's Hillbilly Boys, the band O'Daniel formed after he had terminated his association with Burrus Mill & Elevator, the makers of Light Crust Flour. Perhaps there could have been some thread of continuity for the LP had the

producers selected earlier Doughboys recordings that featured Leon Huff as vocalist since Huff did tag along with O'Daniel to become a charter member of the Hillbilly Boys. Instead, the producers chose Doughboys sides from 1939 and 1941, and the result is a complete flop. When the twelve sides are compared against Doughboys and Hillbilly Boys discographies, one is led to believe that the producers had only a total of six 78-rpm discs in their possession--four by the Hillbilly Boys and two by the Doughboys. So they simply decided to reissue these twelve particular sides. Although the mastering is described as a "faithful reproduction" and a "magnificent job," the result is more like the sound you might get by placing an old TruTone 78-rpm portable player in a galvanized wash tub. The album sleeve refers to this as Volume One. It is hoped that the producers will not be able to find six more 78s for Volume Two.

--Bob Pinson
Country Music Foundation
Nashville, Tennessee

APPENDIX

MILTON BROWN AND HIS BROWNIES: Pioneer Western Swing Band 1935-36 (MCA-1509). Reissue of twelve sides from January, 1935, and March, 1936. Selections: The Sheik Of Araby, Yes Suh, Fan It, Chinese Honeymoon, Somebody's Been Usin' That Thing, Goofus, Down By The O-H-I-O, I've Got The Blues For Mammy, Hesitation Blues, When I Take My Sugar To Tea, Black And White Rag, Easy Ridin' Papa. Comments by Bob Wills (as told to Merle Haggard) provide the liner notes.

TEXAS SAND: Anthology Of Western Swing (Rambler 101). Reissue of fourteen sides recorded between 1935 and the late 1940s by various performers. Selections: Texas Sand, Lonesome Blues (Tune Wranglers); Everybody's Trying To Be My Baby, Texas Stomp (Roy Newman & His Boys); Ida! Sweet As Apple Cider (Milton Brown & His Brownies); That's What I Like About The South (Cliff Bruner); Deep Elm Blues (Prairie Ramblers); Let Me Live And Love You, Old Waterfall (Jimmie Revard & His Oklahoma Playboys); I Never See My Baby Alone (Johnny Tyler & His Riders of The Rio Grande); Southern Belle (From Nashville Tennessee) (Curly Williams & His Georgia Peach Pickers); No Good For Nothin' Blues (The Sunshine Boys); Betty Ann (Jesse Ashlock); Tex Tyler Ride ("T" Texas Tyler & His Oklahoma Melody Boys). Produced by Double R Ranch Productions; liner notes by "Stompin' Steve" Hathaway.

DEVIL WITH THE DEVIL: Hot Western Swing from the 1930's (Rambler 102). Reissue of fourteen sides by various performers. Selections: The Right Key (But The Wrong Keyhole), I Ain't Gonna Give Nobody None O' This Jelly Roll (Cliff Bruner's Texas Wanderers); Gimme My Dime Back (Blue Ridge Playboys); They Go Wild Over Me, I'm Wild About That Thing (Tune Wranglers); Gulf Coast Blues (Light Crust Doughboys); I Can't Dance (I Got Ants In My Pants), The Devil With The Devil (Roy Newman and His Boys); Cats Are Bad Luck, Cake Eatin' Man (Jimmie Revard and His Oklahoma Playboys); When My Baby Comes To Town (Modern Mountaineers); Easy Ridin' Papa (Milton Brown and His Brownies); Wonder Stomp (Texas Wanderers); Jig (Bill Boyd and His Cowboy Ramblers). Produced by Double R Ranch Productions; liner notes by Marty Pahls & Smiley Jaxon.

HANK PENNY AND HIS RADIO COWBOYS: Tobacco State Swing (Rambler 103). Reissue of fourteen sides recorded between November, 1938, and June, 1941. Selections: Back Up A Little Bit, Tobacco State Swing, Mama's Getting Young, Lonesome Train Blues, Hot Time Mama, Hawaiian Honeymoon, Rose's Sister, Won't You Ride In My Little Red Wagon, Cowboy's Swing, Sweet Talkin' Mama, Hesitation Blues, All Night And All Day Long, Oh Yes? Take Another Guess, Blue Ridge Blues. Compiled and annotated by Cary Ginell.

HARTMAN'S HEART BREAKERS: Give It To Me, Daddy! (Rambler 104). Reissue of ten sides recorded in June and October, 1936. Selections: Let Me Play With It, Feels Good, My Southern Movements, Fetch It On Down To My House, Grandma And Grandpa, Give It To Me Daddy, Please Mr. Moon Don't Tell On Me, Oh Sweet Daddy Oh Pshaw!, A Night In Carolina, No Huggin' Or Kissin'. Liner notes by Marty Pahls.

HOT AS I AM: Western Swing 1935-1941 (Rambler 105). Reissue of fourteen sides recorded between January, 1935, and April, 1941. Selections: Clarinet Marmalade, Pussy, Pussy, Pussy (Light Crust Doughboys); Four Or Five Times, Corrine Corrina (Cliff Bruner's Texas Wanderers); Oh, Look At That Baby, Shawnee, Sweet Mama Blues (Tune Wranglers); Trying To Be Blue, Moonlight Waters (The Modern Mountaineers); Copenhagen (Milton Brown and His Brownies); Dirty Dog, It's My Time Now (Jimmie Revard and His Oklahoma Playboys); Jennie Lee (Bill Boyd and His Cowboy Ramblers); Hot As I Am (The Saddle Tramps). Compiled and annotated by Marty Pahls and Jeff Richardson.

SMOKEY WOOD: The Houston Hipster (Rambler 107). Reissue of sixteen recordings from 1937 (eight each by the Modern Mountaineers and by Smokey Wood and the Wood Chips) which represent all of Wood's pre-War commercially released performances. Modern Mountaineers titles: Who Calls You Sweet Mama Now?, Everybody's Truckin', Drifting Along, Dirty Dog Blues, Mississippi Sandman, Sweet Little Girl Of Mine, Gettin' That Low Down Swing, Loud Mouth. Smokey Wood and the Wood Chips titles: Keep On Truckin', I'm Sorry, Riding To Glory, Moonlight In Oklahoma, Wood's Traveling Blues, Lonely Heart Of Mine, Carry Me Back To Virginny, Woodchip Blues. Produced by Jeff Richardson; liner notes by Marty Pahls and Jeff Richardson.

JIMMIE REVARD AND HIS OKLAHOMA PLAYBOYS: Oh! Swing It (Rambler 108). Reissue of sixteen sides from October, 1936, through October, 1938. Selections: Oh! Swing It, Someone Else You Care For, Crafton Blues, Ride 'Em Cowboy, Triflin' Gal, Lose Your Blues And Laugh At Life, At The End Of The Lane, Everything's Gonna Be All Right, Bound To Look Like A Monkey, Riding Down The Canyon, Big Daddy Blues, I've Got Trouble In Mind, Daddy's Got The Deep Elm Blues, Thinking, We Played A Game, After Hours Blues. Produced by Jeff Richardson; liner notes by Marty Pahls and Jeff Richardson.

MOON MULLICAN: Seven Nights To Rock (Western 2001). Reissue of sixteen sides from 1946-1956. Selections: Seven Nights To Rock, Southern Hospitality, Well, Oh Well, Grandpa Stole My Baby, Cherokee Boogie, What Have I Done That Made You Go Away, Tokyo Boogie, Shoot The Moon, I'm Mad With You, I Done It, Rocket To The Moon, Trifling Woman Blues, Good Deal, Lucille, Don't Ever Take My Picture Down, Rheumatism Boogie, Pipeliner's Blues. Produced by Jeff Richardson; liner notes by Rich Kienzle.

BILLY JACK WILLS & HIS WESTERN SWING BAND (Western 2002). Sixteen recordings taken from transcriptions recorded during 1952-1954. Selections: Lonesome Hearted Blues, Dipsy Doodle, Johnson Rag, Mr. Cotton Picker, Air Mail Special, Basin Street Blues, I Don't Know, Woodchopper's Ball, Teardrops From My Eyes, Tuxedo Junction, Twin Guitar Special, St. Louis Blues, Blue Guitar Stomp, Summit Ridge Drive, Rock City Boogie, C Jam Blues. Produced by Jeff Richardson; liner notes by Rich Kienzle.

JIMMIE RIVERS AND THE CHEROKEES: Brisbane Bop (Western 2003). Twelve recordings taken from tapes recorded at live dances from 1961-1964. Selections: Back Bay Shuffle, Jimmie's Blues, Jammin' With Jimmy, On The Alamo, Hold It, A Smo-o-o-oth One, Slow Boat To China, It's All Your Fault, Steelin' Home, Tippin' In, After You've Gone, Swedish Pastry. Produced by Jeff Richardson; liner notes by Rich Kienzle.

WESTERN SWING - BLUES, BOOGIE AND HONKY TONK: Volume 6 - The 1940's & '50's (Old Timey 121). Reissue of sixteen sides by various performers. Selections: Oakie Boogie, Troubles On My Mind (Johnny Tyler & Riders of the Rio Grande); One Year Ago Tonight (Don Churchill & His Texas Mavericks); Spanish Two Step (Pee Wee King & His Band); I Had Someone Else Before I Had You ("Easy" Adams & His Texas Top Hands); Trouble In Mind (Jerry Irby & His Texas Ranchers); Never Turn Your Back To A Woman, Bob Wills Two Step (Luke Wills' Rhythm Busters); Farr Away Blues (The Farr Brothers - Hugh & Karl); Are You From Dixie (Mark Hurley & His Radio Express Boys); Old Cow Blues (Buddy Duhon & Harry Chatoes & His Fiddle); Boogie Woogie Highball (Johnnie Lee Wills & His Boys); Heebie Jeebie Blues (Webb Pierce & The Southern Valley Boys); "T" Texas Blues ("T" Texas Tyler & His Oklahoma Melody Boys); Meltin' Pot Polka (Sleepy Short & Lester Woytek). Produced by Chris Strachwitz; liner notes by Tony Russell.

WESTERN SWING - BLUES, BOOGIE AND HONKY TONK: Volume 7 - The 1940's & '50's (Old Timey 122). Reissue of sixteen sides by various performers. Selections: Silver Lake Blues (Bob Wills & His Texas Playboys); Beer Drinking Blues (Rocky Bill Ford & His Sunset Wranglers); Bingo Boogie (Tommy Mooney with Bobby Mooney & His Automobile Babies); Don't You Darken My Door Anymore (Buck Roberts & The Rhythmairs); C-Jam Blues, Sleepy-Eyed John (Ole Rasmussen & His Nebraska Cornhuskers); Hot Rod Race (Arkie Shibley & His Mountain Dew Boys); May You Never Break A Heart Like You Broke Mine (Hoyle Nix & His West Texas Cowboys); Green Back Dollar (Eddie Noack & Gig Sparks); Williams Rag (Tex Williams & His Orchestra); We Got Good Business (Glynn Duncan & His Bar B Boys); Stop Your Flirting Little Girl (Terry Fell & His Seven Southerners); Bustin' Thru, This Ain't The Blues (Speedy West & Jimmy Bryant); Wrong Road Blues (Tommy Duncan & His Western All Stars); My Bucket's Got A Hole In It ("T" Texas Tyler & His Oklahoma Melody Boys). Produced by Chris Strachwitz; liner notes by Tony Russell.

WESTERN SWING - BLUES, BOOGIE AND HONKY TONK: Volume 8 - The 1940's & '50's (Old Timey 123). Reissue of sixteen sides by various performers. Selections: Dog House Boogie (Hawkshaw Hawkins); Last Tear, Boogie Woogie Blues (Art Gunn & His Arizona Playboys); Old Fashioned Love ("T" Texas Tyler & His Oklahoma Melody Boys); Mississippi River Blues (Tommy Duncan & His Western All Stars); Dusty Blossom Boogie (Arkie Shibley & His Mountain Dew Boys); Out Of Money, Out Of Place, Out Of Syle (Jimmy Walker); Steelin' Home (Noel Boggs & His Day Sleepers); Al's Steel Guitar Wobble (Jack Rhodes with Al Petty); Come On Home Where You Belong (Bennie Hess); The Prune Waltz (Adolph Hofner & His Orchestra); E Ramble (Big Jim DeNoone); That Naggin' Wife Of Mine (Leodie Jackson & His Swingsters); Too Many Blues, High Falutin' Mama (Bill Nettles); Oakie Boogie (The Maddox Brothers & Rose). Produced by Chris Strachwitz; liner notes by Tony Russell.

ROY NEWMAN & HIS BOYS, VOL. 1, 1934-8: Western Swing Classics (Origin OJL-8102). Reissue of fourteen sides from September, 1934, through December, 1938. Selections: Hot Dog Stomp, Mississippi Mud, Drag Along Blues, Garbage Man Blues, Black And Blue, Rhythm Is Our Business, Match Box Blues, Takin' Off, Kansas City Blues, Dinah, My Baby Rocks Me, Tin Roof Blues, 12th Street Rag, Down Hearted Blues. Executive producer is Bill Givens; liner notes are by Cary Ginell.

BILL BOYD AND HIS COWBOY RAMBLERS - 1934-47 (Texas Rose TXR 2701). Reissue of sixteen sides from August, 1934, through November, 1947. Selections: You're Just About Right, Right Or Wrong, On The Texas Plains, Beale Street Blues, Show Me The Way To Go Home, Cross-Eyed Gal On The Hill, Texas Blues, Red Lips, Boyd's Blues, She's Killing Me, Yes You Did, 'Deed I Do, Lone Star, Like You, Frosty Mornin', Roadside Rag. Produced and annotated by Cary Ginell. Executive producer, Alan Roberts.

W. LEE O'DANIEL AND HIS HILLBILLY BOYS - 1935-38 (Texas Rose TXR 2702). Reissue of fourteen sides from September, 1935, through December, 1938. Selections: Yes-Suh!, All I Do Is Dream Of You, Get Hot, Dirty Hangover Blues, Alabama Jubilee, Baby, Won't You Please Come Home, Old Yazoo, Everybody Kiss Your Partner, Yodeling Ranger, Who's Sorry Now?, High Falutin' Newton, So Tired Of Dreaming, San Antonio, Have You Ever Been Lonely?. Produced and annotated by Cary Ginell. Executive producer, Alan Roberts.

THE TUNE WRANGLERS - 1936-38 (Texas Rose TXR 2703). Reissue of sixteen sides from February, 1936, through October, 1938. Selections: Black-Eyed Susan Brown, Let's Go, I Wish You Were Jealous Of Me, Chopo, Why Do You Knock At My Door, Red's Tight Like That, Shawnee, I'll Be Hanged If They're Goin' To Hang Me, El Rancho Grande, Blue Bonnet Rhythm, Sweet Fiddle Blues, Oh Look At That Baby, Hawaiian Honeymoon, Yesterday, Buster's Crawdad Song, Rainbow. Produced and annotated by Cary Ginell. Executive producer, Alan Roberts.

THE LIGHT CRUST DOUGHBOYS - 1936-39 (Texas Rose TXR 2704). Reissue of sixteen sides from April, 1936, through June, 1939. Selections: Just Once Too Often, Little Rock Get-A-Way, Dirty Dish Rag Blues, Pussy, Pussy, Sitting On Top Of The World, Mama Won't Let Me, Thousand Mile Blues, The Birth Of The Blues, Waiting For The Robert E. Lee, Did You Ever Hear A String Band Swing?, Dusky Stevedore, Mama Gets What She Wants, Avalon, I'm A Ding Dong Daddy (From Dumas), (New) Jeep's Blues, Slow Down Mr. Brown. Produced and annotated by Cary Ginell. Executive producer, Alan Roberts.

THE HI-FLYERS - 1937-41 (Texas Rose TXR 2705). Reissue of sixteen sides from June, 1937, through March, 1941. Selections: The Honky-Tonk Jump, Static Stomp, Low Blues, Dragging The Bow, Watcha Gonna Do, Joe Turner Blues, Reno Street Blues, Old Tobacco Mill, The Five-Piece Band, Roadside Rag, Blonde-Headed Woman, Mable Ain't Able, Hi-Flyer Stomp, Juke Box Jump, I'm Sorry Now, Under The Double Eagle. Produced and annotated by Cary Ginell. Executive producer, Alan Roberts.

MILTON BROWN & HIS MUSICAL BROWNIES - 1934 (Texas Rose TXR 2706). Reissue of eighteen sides representing Brown's complete recorded output for 1934. Selections: Brownie's Stomp, Joe Turner Blues, Oh! You Pretty Woman, My Precious Sonny Boy, Swinging On The Garden Gate, Do The Hula Lou, Garbage Man Blues, Four, Five or Six Times, Where You Been So Long Corrine?, Talking About You, Just Sitting On Top Of The World, Take It Slow And Easy, Get Along Cindy, Trinity Waltz, Love Land And You, This Morning, This Evening, So Soon, Girl Of My Dreams, Loveless Love. Produced and annotated by Cary Ginell. Executive producer, Alan Roberts.

DAVE EDWARDS AND HIS ALABAMA BOYS - 1937 (Texas Rose TXR 2707). Reissue of fourteen sides representing the band's total recorded output. Selections: Jig Time, Minnie The Moocher, Sigh and Cry Blues, You're No Good Anymore, Smiles, Down In Arkansas, Sailing On The Robert E. Lee, Down In Jungle Town, Hula Lou, Done Sold My Soul To The Devil, Blue Man's Blues, Baby (You're As Sweet As Honey To Me), Missouri Waltz, Oh By Jingo! (Oh By Gee, You're The Only Girl For Me). Produced and annotated by Cary Ginell. Executive producer, Alan Roberts.

SONS OF THE WEST - 1938-1941 (Texas Rose TXR-2708). Reissue of sixteen sides from September, 1938, and March, 1941. Selections: There's Evil In You Chillun, Thinking Of You, Spanish Cavalier, Panhandle Shuffle, Am I Blue, My Gal Don't Love Me Anymore, I Live In Memory Of You, Following You Around, Sally's Got A Wooden Leg, I'll Always Be In Love With You, Make A Wreath For Mary, Mama Inez, My Prairie Queen, Visions Of The Past, Oh Monah!, Our Last Goodbye. Produced and annotated by Cary Ginell. Executive producer, Alan Roberts.

BOB WILLS & HIS TEXAS PLAYBOYS - 1932-1941 (Texas Rose TXR 2709). Reissue of sixteen sides (including two alternate takes and one unissued performance) from February, 1932, through February, 1941. Selections: You're Okay, Oklahoma Rag, Swing Blues #1, Sunbonnet Sue, Bluin' The Blues, Red Hot Gal Of Mine, St. Louis Blues, Tulsa Stomp, Whoa Babe, Basin Street Blues, Steel Guitar Stomp, Sugar Blues, No Matter How She Done It (She's Just A Dirty Dame), Weary Of The Same Ol' Stuff, Black Rider, Takin' It Home. Produced and annotated by Cary Ginell. Executive producer, Alan Roberts.

BOB WILLS: Bob Wills Special (Columbia Special Products P15813). Reissue of fourteen sides recorded between September, 1935, and October, 1947. Selections: Get With It, Oklahoma Rag, Steel Guitar Rag, Tulsa Stomp, There's No Disappointment In Heaven, Steel Guitar Stomp, Lone Star Rag, Time Changes Everything, Bob Wills Special, La Paloma, Just A Plain Old Country Boy, The Devil Ain't Lazy, Texarkana Baby, Can't Get Enough Of Texas. No production credits. No liner notes.

BOB WILLS: Country & Western Classics (Time-Life TLCW-07). Reissue of forty sides from 1935-1961. Selections: I Can't Give You Anything But Love, Baby, Spanish Two Step, Smith's Reel, She's Killing Me, Steel Guitar Rag, Fan It, There's No Disappointment In Heaven, I've Got The Wonder Where She Went (Blues), Down Hearted Blues, The Convict And The Rose, Liza Pull Down The Shades, Time Changes Everything, Medley Of Spanish Waltzes, Big Beaver, Liebestraum, Twin Guitar Special, Take Me Back To Tulsa, Don't Count Your Chickens, New San Antonio Rose, Drop Us Off At Bob's Place, Home In San Antone, Miss Molly, My Confession, Ten Years, Let's Ride With Bob, Texas Playboy Rag, Bluer Than Blue, Roly Poly, Stay A Little Longer, Just A Plain Old Country Boy, Virginia, Fat Boy Rag, Deep Water, Don't Be Ashamed Of Your Age, Sally Gooden, Boot Heel Drag, Faded Love, Maiden's Prayer, Heart To Heart Talk, The Jobob Rag. Liner notes and song annotations by Rich Kienzle. Series consultant: Charles K. Wolfe.

BOB WILLS: Country Music (Time-Life P15836 STW-119). Reissue of nine sides recorded between September, 1936, and September, 1946. Selections: Steel Guitar Rag, Time Changes Everything, Take Me Back To Tulsa, Miss Molly, Home In San Antone, New San Antonio Rose, Roly-Poly, New Spanish Two-Step, Sugar Moon. Liner notes by Charles K. Wolfe.

BOB WILLS AND HIS TEXAS PLAYBOYS: The Tiffany Transcriptions, Vol. 1 (Kaleidoscope F-16). Fourteen recordings from transcriptions cut between May, 1946 and December, 1947. Selections: Nancy Jane, Mission To Moscow, Dinah, Lone Star Rag, Cotton Patch Blues, Sweet Jennie Lee, I Hear You Talkin', The Girl I Left Behind Me, Straighten Up And Fly Right, Little Betty Brown, Nobody's Sweetheart Now, Blackout Blues, What's The Matter With The Mill, Jumpin' At The Woodside. Produced by Jeff Axelson and Tom Diamant; short commentary by Tiny Moore.

BOB WILLS, TOMMY DUNCAN AND THE TEXAS PLAYBOYS: 31st Street Blues (Longhorn KK-011). Fifteen recordings from radio shows of the mid-1940s. Selections: 31st Street Blues, When They Baptised Sister Lucy Lee, Sunbonnet Sue, Bob Wills Special, Twinkle Star, G.I. Wish, What's The Matter With The Mill?, Darktown Strutters Ball, Right Or Wrong, Waltz You Saved For Me, Crafton Blues, Corrine, Corrina, Home In San Antone, Seven Miles Out Of Town, Turkey In The Straw. Executive producer, Harvey Appell. Liner notes by Keith Kolby.

THE LEGENDARY PEE WEE KING (Longhorn LH-1236). Fifteen recordings from transcribed radio shows of 1951-1953. Selections: I Wanna Say Hello, Charleston Alley, (Crying) Steel Guitar Waltz, Silver & Gold, 'Tain't What You Want, Mohegas, You Tried To Ruin My Name, Oh Monah!, One Way Street, Tennessee Tango, Cowboy Special, (The Reason) I'm In Love With You, I've Turned A Gad-A-Bout, Ramblin' Blues, (Where Oh) Where Has My Little Love Gone. Compiled and edited by Harvey Appell. Liner notes by Merle Travis with shorter testimonials by Roy Clark, Jimmy Wakely and Hank Thompson.

THE LIGHT CRUST DOUGHBOYS: Original Hit Songs (Aolt 101). Reissue of twelve sides (four by the Light Crust Doughboys and eight by W. Lee O'Daniel and His Hill-billy Boys) from June, 1937, through February, 1941. Light Crust Doughboys selections: I'll Keep On Loving You, Little Rubber Dolly, Have I Lost Your Love Forever, Why Did You Lie To Me. W. Lee O'Daniel selections: Long Long Ago, Beautiful Texas, Congratulate Me, I Don't Mind, I'm Drifting Back To Dreamland, All I Do Is Dream Of You, There'll Be Some Changes Made, Yes Suh! No liner note or production credits.

GENERAL'S FOLK ALBUMS

by

Archie Green

Upon opening this series, during 1967, I undertook to explore the visual depiction of hillbilly musicians as well as themes within their songs and instrumentals. My specific focus led to commercial art which announced phonograph record releases for Anglo-American music stemming from the rural South. Branching out, I turned to parallel musics, to forms of dissemination beyond sound recordings, and to wide questions of definition and category both for art and music.

Over the years I have treated matters of origin, pattern, use, and meaning for the drawings, lithographs, paintings, and other art selected to sell music. My separate features have considered music variously tagged "country," "western," "mountain," "cowboy," "hillbilly," "bluegrass," "sacred," "gospel," "race," "blues," "jazz," "rock," "ethnic," and "folk." No single name encompasses all these idioms; no single word seems neutral enough to bridge all the differences for regional or indigenous musical expression within the United States. Perhaps "vernacular music" remains our most serviceable overarching term.

A topic to which I have returned frequently is that of early folk albums, 1938-1942. In those years, while the New Deal gave way to World War Two, the major American record firms--Victor, Columbia, Decca--developed several strategies for folk material: A) repackaging, for new audiences, previously-issued race and hillbilly discs; B) recording "downhome" music from artists in tradition-bound communities; C) offering then-current foreign, exotic, and primitive music--all subsequently grouped under the term "ethnic"; D) encouraging both classical and popular interpreters to record concert-stage folksong.

No historian has yet traced, in all its complexity, the rise of a discrete folk sector within our commercial music industry. Also, we lack autobiographies and biographies of the bold entrepreneurs who found gold in jazz, country, and folk albums. During 1950, Professor Ben Gray Lumpkin compiled a popular booklet, *Folksongs on Records*, attempting a comprehensive listing of then-available material in the United States. No one has fully extended and updated Lumpkin's gathering, although presently we have many fine discographies on particular artists, genres, songs, and labels. The *JEMF Quarterly* welcomes

listings and analysis of the output of early firms. Many 78-rpm labels of the pre-LP decade remain obscure, yet their owners often pioneered in gathering and distributing highly unusual material, still of great documentary value in assessing cultural experience.

Here, I comment on the General Records Company, a short-lived unit formed by several associates in the Reeves Sound Studio (1600 Broadway, New York City). General offered a fascinating mix of specialty albums between March 1940 and October 1942. In the latter month, the firm issued an attractive 78-page catalog from which we reproduce pages 25-34, "Rare and Interesting Albums." Actually these pages describe 38 sets (classical, baroque, modern, pop, folk, novelty, etc.) under various coded letters. I list below, in numerical order, only the 16 folk and popular sets coded by the letter "G."

- G-10 Dark Rapture (Belgian Congo)
- 11 New Orleans Memories (Jelly Roll Morton)
- 12 Voodoo (Haiti)
- 13 Bach to Boogie Woogie (Sylvia Marlowe)
- 14 Gershwin Specials (George Byron, Bobby Tucker)
- 15 A Day at the Circus (on location)
- 16 Mexican I (on location)
- 17 Mexican II (on location)
- 18 Indian (Yaqui)
- 19 Jerome Kern (George Byron, Bobby Tucker)
- 20 Deep Sea Chanteys and Whaling Ballads (Almanac Singers)
- 21 Sod-Buster Ballads (Almanac Singers)
- 30 Songs for Americans (Earl Robinson)
- 31 Seven Gay Sophisticated Songs (Victoria Spivy)
- 32 Let's All Howl! (Glee Club)
- 33 Jelly Roll's On (Morton's last session)

The General compilers annotated their listing with tiny pictures of some album covers, as well as with quotes from then-recent reviews. These comments, more than four decades old, suggest one associational field within which much folk music was received by an urban intellectual audience on the eve of World War Two. For example, the catalog reports that harpsichordist Sylvia Marlowe (G-13) "deserted" the classical

concert stage to concentrate on "Le Jaz Hot." This key phrase described the swinging quality of Negro jazz and suggested as well the excitement which white liberals felt in their identification with the creativity of the black masses. *Time* compared Watusi drummers (G-10) to Gene Krupa's "rاندiest rataplan," while the *Chicago News* labeled Jelly Roll Morton's New Orleans album (G-11) as both "authentic jazz" and of "folklore interest."

Cultural documentarians during New Deal Years had no trouble placing jazz, blues, spirituals, and workson under the rubric "folk." However, the task of making a similar linkage for hillbilly music proved difficult and drawn out. General recorded no country-western giant as significant as Morton. Yet it did record Woody Guthrie in its two Almanac albums (G-20, G-21). At the start of his recording career, Woody was not yet a pop-culture hero lauded for adding "This Land" to our patriotic songbag. Sadly, for General's proprietors, their firm closed shop before Guthrie became widely known.

I am especially interested in the role of early albums in structuring a folksong record audience. Previously, in *Graphics* #21 (*JEMFO* VIII, no. 26 - Summer 1972) I noted that Victor had released Huddie Ledbetter's (Leadbelly) powerful songs separately in Bluebird's race series (for Negro purchasers) and on the *Midnight Special* album with notes by Alan Lomax (for folksong fans). The folklorist opened his commentary by noting that Leadbelly's prison songs cried for freedom. Similarly, when Victor repackaged ten hillbilly songs by the Carter Family, the Dixon Brothers, Uncle Dave Macon, and others, on *Smoky Mountain Ballads*, John Lomax described the album's buoyant contents as invoking the "same sense of freedom and abounding life as I [Lomax] have felt among their [Uncle Dave, et al] native mountains."

Speaking personally, I recall purchasing, upon release, these two magnificent Victor albums, for, as a young shipwright, I enjoyed turning waterfront earnings into folksong records. I cannot now pinpoint the mystic transformation of Leadbelly's "Grey Goose" or Dorsey Dixon's "Intoxicated Rat" into freedom songs. Somehow, I did come to see the goose as symbolic of both black defiance and endurance, but I was far less assured of the rat's meaning. Yet these songs, and others, did take on an aura of liberation. They did correlate with a first vote for Franklin Delano Roosevelt and with joining the Navy to help in the war effort. Black worksongs and Appalachian ballads had become emblems of democratic art for many young New Dealers. Folk music--rooted in community experience and performed in authentic voice--then seemed to me to mark the expansion of both personal and political consciousness (although, at that time, I did not know the phrase "mind expansion" as a shibboleth).

My digression from General to Victor is deliberate. Both Victor 78-rpm albums were reissued

and enlarged by Brad McCuen for Victor's Vintage LP series in the 1960s. (An interview with McCuen will be featured in a forthcoming issue of the *JEMFO*.) Here, I suggest the need for many listeners and participants to dip back in their memory for descriptions of early folk albums--why produced and how received.

During 1979 in New York City Dick Spottswood visited Hazard Reeves, General Records's founder. Previously, Jim Griffith had interviewed General partner John H. Green at Santa Barbara on 11 March 1978. Both collectors generously have shared their findings with me. Briefly, they learned that Reeves had turned to esoteric album issues--for example, William Boyce, Ernest Bloch, Edwin Markham (reading "The Man With the Hoe"), the Haitian Damballa Singers--feeling that the major labels had fallen into a rut of unimaginative releases. Reeves sought fresh material, sensing in himself a hunger for cultural discovery. He banked upon a shared excitement among his customers--the discriminating music lover, the adventurer off the beaten path, the seeker of new musical experience (1942 catalog, page 25).

We sense Reeves's experimental thrust when we learn that his studio had been used (1934-1936) by Henry Cowell to produce material in his series "New Music Quarterly Recordings." These subscription discs of compositions by Charles Ives and other modernists remain among the rarest recordings of American issue. By 1940, sophisticated collectors became aware that avant-garde music implied a populist as well as an elitist dimension. While Cowell broke ground in championing experimental music, he also collected foreign-language folksong records. Similarly, the Reeves Sound Studio became a base for both contemporary and tradition-oriented sound buffs.

Reeves threw his hat into an "album" ring dominated by Victor, Columbia, and Decca--both complementing the work of the major firms and setting standards for them. In retrospect we know that some A&R men in each of these firms, as well as "outsiders" starting from scratch, had anticipated or shared his sense of discovery in novel music. The Reeves Sound Studio, before 1940, had served as a recording base for a number of independent producers. When some of these individuals proved unable to pay bills, Reeves suggested that they pool their masters under a new General label.

Two partners in this enterprise were John H. Green, who had been making advertising movie shorts with Reeves, and Gordon Mercer, the chief recording engineer for Musicraft Records, a sister specialty label. At Musicraft, Mercer had worked with, among others, Huddie Ledbetter, Carl Sandburg, and George Pullen Jackson's Old Harp Singers. Essentially, the Reeves/Green/Mercer trio held together for some three years. By year's end 1942, Green enlisted in the Army, and Reeves entered into war production with a Harvard scientist--developing a rapid process for cutting crystals in bomber-sight components. General

then remained dormant for several years until the Commodore Music Shop purchased rights and masters.

To supplement this fragment of company history, I offer, below, notes on eight of General's folk albums. Their song contents are listed within the catalog pages reproduced. My notes consist largely of fresh bibliographic/discographic citations and personal recollections.

Dark Rapture (G-10)

General's catalog (page 27) lists the contents of this six-disc set taken from the film sound track "Dark Rapture." Also, the catalog cites *Time* for an album endorsement by anthropologist George Herzog--high praise then and now. I have not seen the film, but can date it to a 1935-1936 expedition to the Belgian Congo and Ruanda by Armand Denis and Leila Roosevelt. Can any reader supply a bibliographic note for the expedition itself, or a subsequent note for a film review? Who knows anything about General's arrangement to issue this album early in 1940? Is it possible that the Reeves Studio processed the sound for the Denis-Roosevelt "Dark Rapture," and, hence, held the expedition field discs in its vaults?

The ethnographic relevance of these 78-rpm discs can be gauged by their reissue, in 1953, on *The Belgian Congo Records* (Commodore DL-30005). After Commodore ceased business, the set was reissued again in the 1960s as *Primitive Music of Africa...* (Mainstream S/6020). For details see Alan P. Merriam, *African Music on LP: An Annotated Discography* (1970) pp 20-21 and 76.

New Orleans Memories (G-11)

Jelly Roll Morton's General album of five 78-rpm discs is well known to jazz enthusiasts. The 1942 catalog reduces the original cover (G-11) to a 1 1/2" square in size, and adds snippets of reviews from six journals. I offer two more citations: A) "Swing Music Notes" by Enzo Archetti, *American Music Lover* (March 1940), p. 442. This reviewer then identified General as a new jazz label, and tied the Morton release to Charles Edward Smith's book *Jazzman* (1939). The album includes a fine booklet by Smith and Alan Lomax. B) *Time* (11 March 1940) reviewed this General barrel-house album as an important folk music addition, and closed by likening collector/editor Smith to Lord Elgin among the antiquarians--a nice figure of speech for those who know the classic Greek statuary in the British Museum.

New Orleans Memories has been reissued at least twice on LP: *Piano Solos/New Orleans Memories* (Commodore 30000) and Fontana (TL 5261). (For details see Laurie Wright, *Mr. Jelly Lord*, Essex, England, Storyville, 1980.) A few dates help place the General set in its time frame. From May to December 1938, Morton recorded his life story for Alan Lomax at the Library of Congress. In December 1939 the artist waxed a number

of piano solos in the Reeves Studio, New York, which were issued during March 1940 as album G-11). In January 1940, with the Jelly Roll Morton Seven, he made his last studio recordings, again at Reeves. Morton died in Los Angeles on 10 July 1941. After his death, General, in its 1942 catalog, announced *Jelly Roll's On* (G-33) as "a memorial collection of the last recordings by the late Jelly Roll Morton." I have never seen this "second" album, although I believe its six announced numbers have all been reissued on various LPs.

Voodoo (G-12)

Voodoo holds eight songs, sacred and secular, recorded early in 1940 by the Damballa Wedo Singers in General's New York studio. Previously, ethnomusicologist Harold Courlander had helped familiarize Americans with Haitian folk music in his book *Haiti Singing* (University of North Carolina Press, 1939). Courlander met these particular performers when the ten-player/singer troupe visited Harlem. He arranged the session with Hazard Reeves and subsequently edited a valuable booklet for the set, holding song translations in English. This album is reviewed enthusiastically in the *American Music Lover* (July 1940), page 73. We reproduce the cover which stars a solitary jungle drummer. I know nothing of the graphic artist and would appreciate leads.

Mexican I and II (G-16 and G-17); Indian (G-18)

These three sets were identified in General's 1942 catalog, respectively, as "authentic recordings" made by John H. Green in Yaqui country (G-18), and "on location" for the two Mexican offerings. Fortunately, Jim Griffith, director of the Southwest Folklore Center-University of Arizona, has unearthed the story of these field discs. His findings will appear in a forthcoming issue of the *JEMFO*. Here, I touch on General's expedition and the artist, Rufino Tamayo, who caught its spirit.

Green, in teen years, had come from the East to Tucson to attend the Evans School (about 1922), where he was exposed to regional and ethnic cultures. Going on to Yale, he traveled frequently to Mexico. About 1939 an Arizona friend, Felipe Wells, put him in touch with Jean and Irmagard Johnson, students of Yaqui language. They, in turn, introduced Green to anthropologist Edward Spicer, who suggested that the Yaqui Easter ceremony should be recorded. On Good Friday, Holy Saturday, and Easter Sunday, March 22-24, 1940, Green was ready with a "portable" (battery operated) machine at Old Pascua Village on Tucson's outskirts.

Leaving Arizona, Green loaded his equipment into a panel truck for an extended collecting trip to Mexico. In Nogales and Mexico City, he recorded considerable mestizo music--canciones (songs), guitar duets, mariachi and marimba band numbers. Green recalled the government's support

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The eight Boyce symphonies detailed on the preceding page are in reality concerti grossi. Musically they are much less reflections of their period. The lovely stride of Handel, the dramatic expressiveness of Purcell and occasionally even the religious profundity of Bach may be heard in these works, compressed into canonic like proportions. Yet, despite their brevity they are replete with flashes of harmonic daring; while their rhythmic vitality and melodic invention are evocative of the superb examples of music in the same genre which Bach gave us in the Brandenburg Concerti and Handel in his Concerti Grossi. It is the consensus of critical opinion that no record collection is complete without a set of these symphonies.

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Dances Des Pygmees Barua

TAMBOURS ROYAUX DES WATUSE 7-8 1.00

Tambours Royaux Des Watuse

TAMBOURS ROYAUX DES WATUSE 9-10 1.00

Chant et Danse Babutu

RITES DE LA CIRCUMCISION CHEZ LES BABIRA 10-11 1.00

Rites de la Circumcision chez les Bapere

These records are among the finest transcriptions of primitive music ever made; they stand in a class by themselves. Combined into this impressive album, the recordings will be treasured by all those who cherish the unusual in Art and who in these various rhythms and melodic themes, will recognize the very soul of a strange and vanishing people.

"Endorsed by Anthropologist George Herzog of Columbia University, these discs constitute the best authentic anthology of African Negro music to be found on commercial phonograph records. Much of this music shows rhythmic resemblances to jazz, includes drums, flutes, xylophones and chanting by longbearded Congo Negroes, by the Mambo Pygmies, and by the Watusi, a race of "Ht. African giants living as feudal chiefs in what was formerly German Tanganyika. The Pygmies sing repetitious melodious songs, the change-ringers, each one booming his single note in turn. The Babira Negroes of the Turi Forest punctuate the high-pitched gurgling of their soloist with aggressive whoops. The Watusi Drummers hammer an intense counterpoint of rhythms more complicated than Gene Krupa's rattletrap."

—Time Magazine.

DEEP SEA CHANTEYS AND WHALING BALLADS
The Almanac Singers

- BLOW YE WINDS HIGH-O 5015 2.75
Haul Away Jo!
- BLOW THE MAN DOWN 5016 .75
The Golden Ventry
- COAST OF HIGH BARBARY 5017 .75
Acry Rio

Six very salty songs, sung as they should be sung by a grand crew, the Almanac Singers. Put this in your sea-chest!

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY SYMPHONIES The New York Symphonietta
under the direction of Max Goberman

- Locatelli—Pergolesi—Stamitz 4-12" 2-R 8.00

For detailed listing and descriptive material, see Page 37

FANTASIAS: Beethoven — Brahms — Haydn — Schumann — Scriabin — Shostakovich Grace Casaguetta, Piano 4-12" 5-CF 6.50
"A Literary Phantasy" by Hendrick Willen van Loon is included with each set.

For detailed listing and descriptive material, see Page 38

GERSHWIN SPECIALS George Byron, *Vocal*—Bobby Tucker, *Piano*

- 4-10" G-14 3.00



GENERAL takes great pleasure in presenting for the first time on records 8 songs among which are some of the best that ever came from the brilliant pens of George and Ira Gershwin.

In *George Byron* we have found a singer with complete vocal polish and mastery of style that is characteristic of several of the greatest song recitalists of our time.

Paul Whiteman, one of the men most responsible for the early success of George Gershwin, and a musician deeply respected by professionals and laymen alike, had this to say after hearing our "Gershwin Specials."

"Dear Mr. Byron:

"May I congratulate you on your delightful singing of the seldom heard Gershwin songs. Your interpretations were excellent and Mr. Tucker's accompaniments most distinctive.

"In addition to being fine entertainment, I feel your album serves a real purpose in bringing these songs to the public.

"Sincerely, PAUL WHITEMAN."

GERSHWIN SPECIALS—Continued

- BY STRAUSS 4011 .75
Blah-Blah-Blah
- LORELEI 4012 .75
Isn't It a Pity
- THREE TIMES A DAY 4013 .75
I Love to Rhyme
- THE HALF OF IT DEARIE BLUES 4014 .75
Jolly Tar and the Milk Maid
- HAYDN, JOSEF
FOUR SONATAS FOR HARPSICORD AND VIOLIN Boris Schwarz, Violin; Alice Ehlers, Harpsichord 4-12" MS-6 4.50
- THREE SONATAS FOR PIANO: C Major—E Minor—D Major Jacob Feuerring, Piano 3-12" 6-M 5.00
- INDIAN Yaqui Indian Music 4-10" G-18 3.75

Authentic recordings of the musical ceremonies and religious celebrations recorded in the Yaqui country by John H. Green



The eight sides encompassed by this set cover songs, dances, processional music, music for the rituals of birth, marriage and death. The dominant instrument is the drum, in a number of variations of skin stretched over wood. There are also a variety of native instruments which produce extraordinary, odd and thoroughly entertaining sounds."

—Listen.

DIEER DANCE, Part 1

- Deer Dance, Part II* 10" 5011 1.00
- COYOTE (Song of Old War Society) 10" 5012 1.00
1) *Piscola (Masked Dance)*
2) *Piscola (Unmasked Dance)*
- 1) CHAPIYEKA PROCESSION 10" 5013 1.00
2) MATACHINI DANCE

- 1) *Huebuenche Dance*
2) *Alabanza a Guadalupe*

- LOS VIEJITOS (Dance of the Little Old Men) 10" 5014 1.00
1) *Birib* 2) *Marriage* 3) *Death*

JELLY ROLL'S ON Jazz Classics Jelly Roll Morton 3-10" G-33 1.75

A memorial collection of the last recordings of the late

Jelly Roll Morton.

DON'T YOU LEAVE ME HERE
King Porter Stomp 4005 1.00

JELLY ROLL'S ON—Continued

- THE CRAVE 4003 1.00
 Buddy Bolden's Blues
 SWEET SUBSTITUTE 1703 .75
Panama

See also: NEW ORLEANS MEMORIES, this section.

- KERN, JEROME George Byron, *Vocal*—Bobby Tucker,
Piano 3-10" G-19 2.75
 I HAVE THE ROOM ABOVE 4015 .75
Once In A Blue Moon
 SHE DIDN'T SAY YES 4016 .75
One Moment Alone
 GO LITTLE BOAT 4017 .75
You Never Know About Me
 LET'S ALL HOWL: Six Old Favorites—Glee Club
 LET ME CALL YOU SWEETHEART 3-10" G-32 1.75
 1801 .50
Bicycle Built for Two
 I'VE BEEN WORKING ON THE RAILROAD 1803 .50
Show Me the Way To Go Home
 PUT ON YOUR OLD GRAY BONNET 1802 .50
Down By The Old Mill Stream
 MARKHAM, EDWIN: Poet Recitations 3-12" 4-M 6.50

America's best-loved poet, incarnation of the Social
 Conscience, gives to the public and to posterity his in-
 terpretations of his famous poems.

- THE MAN WITH THE HOE 1000 2.00
*Preparedness — Duty — Outwitted — The Third
 Wonder — All in the Emphasis*
 LINCOLN, THE MAN OF THE PEOPLE 1001 2.00
*Araby — Your Tears — Victory in Defeat — The
 Look Ahead*
 THE JOY OF THE HILLS—THE JOY OF THE MORNING 1002 2.00
A Meeting—A Prayer

MEXICAN 1 Authentic Mexican Music

- These are true Mexican melodies recorded on loca-
 tion by John H. Green. They reflect all the color and
 gaiety of our Mexican neighbors.
 LA MUJER DE CUCHU 5005 .75
La Poiranca
 LA JULIA 5006 .75
El Rancho
 EL QUALITE 5007 .75
Pina Madura

MEXICAN 11 Authentic Mexican Music

3-10" G-17 2.75

More of these delightful native Mexican
 records, full of the Mariachi folk music.

- JARABE CHIAPAS 5008 .75
Toro Coquito
 LA CHAPONECA 5009 .75
Pajarillo Barranqueno
 ZACATECAS 5010 .75
Tu Ya No Soplas

MOLARSKY
 Quintet for String Quartet and a Voice

2-12" 10-S 3.50

MOUSORGSKY

3.50

SONGS (Vol. 1) "Sunless" Cycle — Pride — King Saul
 — Ballade 4-10" MS-4

SONGS (Vol. 2) Lullaby — Death's Serenade — Trepak
 — Field Marshal Death 2-12" MS-5 2.50

"This set will be welcomed by the ever-growing
 group of record-collectors who are learning to understand
 and love the Russian master."—*Witcher Bulletin*.

"The finest recording of the particular type yet
 made."—*Oregonian*.

MOZART-CLEMENTI Two Pianos: Grace Castagneta-Milton Kaye

3.50

SONATA IN D MAJOR FOR TWO PIANOS: Mozart

SONATA NO. 1 IN B FLAT MAJOR: Clementi

2.50

SONATA NO. 2 IN B FLAT MAJOR: Clementi

3-12" 3K 5.00

In coupling these composers in a single album GENERAL presents a
 noteworthy "contrast and parallel" of great psychological significance—the
 gulf between supreme genius and facile talent. The artists—Miss Castagneta
 and Mr. Kaye—chosen for these recordings are superbly matched and render
 a performance with vitality and extraordinary insight into the music.

Records also available separately. See listing by name of
 composer in section beginning on page 55 of catalog.

4.50

NEW ORLEANS MEMORIES Jelly Roll Morton, Piano and

5-10" G-11

Voice

Jelly Roll recreates the fabulic 3 era of Basin Street
 splendor. Ragtime tunes—barrelhouse blues—memories
 from the birthplace of Jazz.

4001 1.00

MAMIE'S BLUES

4002 1.00

Original Rags

MICHIGAN WATER BLUES

Naked Dance

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ G E N E R A L ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

NEW ORLEANS MEMORIES—Continued

BUDDY BOLDEN'S BLUES <i>The Grave</i>	4003	1.00
WINNIE BOY BLUES <i>Mister Joe</i>	4004	1.00
DON'T YOU LEAVE ME HERE <i>King Porter Stomp</i>	4005	1.00

What the critics have to say about NEW ORLEANS MEMORIES:



"Down in New Orleans, in fabled Storyville, jazz was born in a gutter. It has come a long way from that lowly birthplace. Ferdinand (Jelly Roll) Morton knows all about the beginnings of jazz; he was there; he saw, heard and played with the fabled greats . . . General Records has issued a Jelly Roll album called 'New Orleans Memories,' and it is a joy." — *New York Journal and American*.

"General Records had a real inspiration in perpetuating these remarkable examples of the blues and solo piano rags that a great jazz pianist, Jelly Roll Morton, remembers so well and recreates so skillfully . . ."
— *Steinway Review*.

"The collection is a fine roundup of early New Orleans music and no followers of piano jazz will want to miss it."
— *New Orleans Times-Picayune*.

"There is a definite folklore interest in the collection . . . many purchasers will want the album because it is authentic jazz and good jazz."
— *Chicago News*.

"For those who like to sit back and hear some real New Orleans melodies . . . we can recommend nothing better than General's album of 'New Orleans Memories.'"
— *Springfield Republican*.

"For the avid record collector the historical significance of these sides makes it a worthy candidate for the 'must have' list. For the swing student, it's manna music."
— *Billboard*.

ROBINSON, EARL Songs for Americans	4-10"	G-30	3.10
ABE LINCOLN	500		.75
HORACE GREELEY <i>Grey Goose</i>	501		.75
JESSE JAMES <i>John Henry</i>	502		.75
JOE HILL <i>John Brown</i>	503		.75

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ G E N E R A L ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

The Earl Robinson songs, described on the preceding page, are part of our history, as all great songs should be. The greatest historians are made neither by war nor politics. They are the nameless poets and musicians, the anonymous singers taking the old, and transforming these into legends that never die. And, as we listen, we seem to relive vividly the time and feel the pulse of the people out of which this music and language were born.

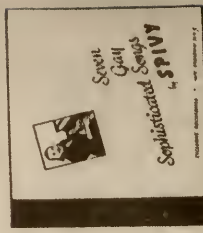
SCHUBERT, FRANZ SONATA IN C MINOR Webster Aitken, Piano	3-12"	MS-9	3.50
SCHUMANN, ROBERT CARNIVAL JEST FROM VIENNA FASCHINGSSCHWANK AUS WIEN, OPUS 26 BUNTEBLÄTTER, OPUS 29, NO. 1-4-6-10	3-12"	7-C	5.00
SOD-BUSTER BALLADS: Folk Songs of America The Almanac Singers	3-10"	G-21	2.75
DOGGIE SONG, THE <i>Ground Hog</i>	5018		.75
HARD, AIN'T IT HARD <i>State of Arkansas</i>	5019		.75
I RIDE AN OLD PAINT <i>House of the Rising Sun</i>	5020		.75

A collection of America's heritage of song. Humor and pathos from the dust-bowl and points west, as collected by the Almanac Singers on their minstrel travels.

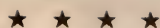
SPIVY Sophisticated Songs	3-10"	G-31	3.50
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In all New York there is no entertainer more celebrated than Spivy. Night after night she delights the patrons of her rooftop restaurant with her naughty and knowing ballads.

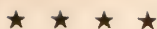
This album contains six of Spivy's best known numbers. The lyrics are daring and witty; the melodies are tailored to fit the words. And as for the singing, it can only be described as Spivy at her hilarious best.



I BROUGHT CULTURE TO BUFFALO IN THE 90'S <i>Alley Cat — Tarantella</i>	S-101	1.00
WHY DON'T YOU? <i>The Last of the Fleur de Levy</i>	S-102	1.00
I LOVE TOWN <i>A Tropical Fish</i>	S-103	1.00



G E N E R A L



VOODOO Damballa Wedo Singers with Drums 4-10" G-12 4.50

Revealing music of mysterious Haiti, splendidly sung by native musicians, edited by Harold Courlander, noted authority on this subject.

IBO LELE	5001	1.00
<i>Joue Kanga Joue</i>		
ERZULIE NAINAIN OH	5002	1.00
<i>Moundongue Oh Ye Ye Ye</i>		
DJA KEKE OH KEKE DJA	5003	1.00
<i>Ciye Ciye Ti Bobine</i>		
JEAN PIERRE POUNGUE	5004	1.00
<i>Soleil Malade</i>		

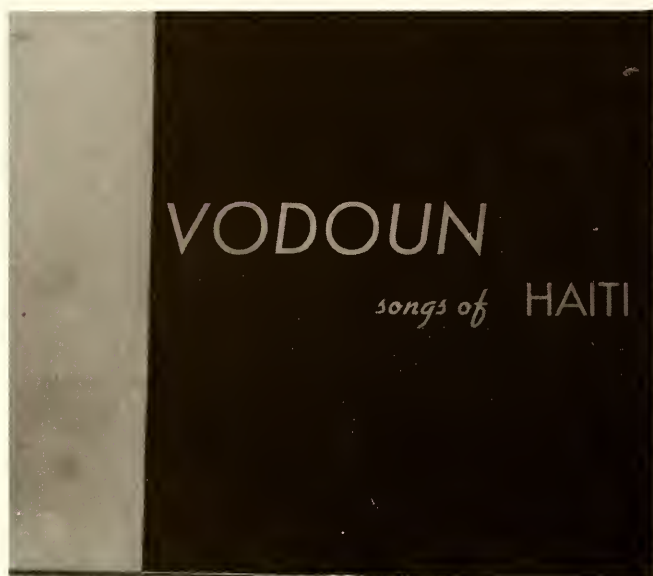


The Damballa Wedo Singers, who performed for these recordings, are a group of ten Haitians, three of whom are drummers. The eight selections which constitute this album are songs familiar to all the mountain people of the Black Republic. The are religious songs identified with the cultural phenomena known as *Vodoun*.

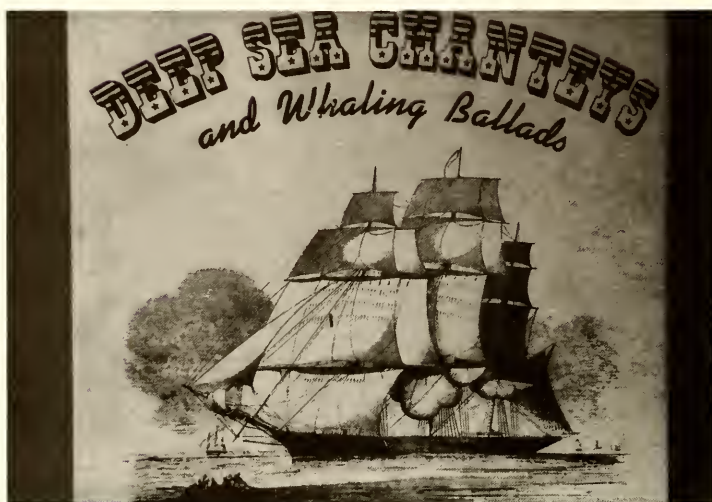
The folk songs of Haiti are filled with tales of the supernatural, with humor, remembrance of Guinée, of Africa, with moral lessons, gossip and personal tragedies. The range, both musically and textually, is vast. These songs are a cross section of Haitian life.

"Should be studied by every person interested in various music forms."
—*Indianapolis Recorder*.

"The records are so startling that it doesn't take much imagination to see those fellows standing there pounding away at the drums . . ."
—*Springfield Republican*.







for his trip, in that it provided a musicologist from the Instituto Nacional de las Bellas Artes and a truck driver, an ex-bullfighter. I assume that reports of this pioneering expedition appeared in Mexican newspapers or journals. However, I lack such documentation.

Back in New York, during the summer of 1940, Green edited three albums from his field material, leaving aside a number of valuable unreleased songs and dances. Seeking an artist whose work he admired, Green arranged for Rufino Tamayo to illustrate General's Indian and Mexican sets. Tamayo, then living in Manhattan, completed the silk screen assignment for \$75.00. (I am uncertain whether he provided but three prints to General for reproduction on multiple cover slicks by commercial lithography, or whether General made individual silk screen slicks separately for all the covers.) Green recalled placing the finished sets in a Radio City music shop and in other "artistic clientele" outlets. In retrospect, he helped shape a marketing strategy which linked challenging modern art and exotic folk music.

In their original state, Tamayo's album covers are multi-colored. Each, with stress on native instrument and local costume, serves as a model for the visual rendering of musical experience within the fixed confine of a ten-inch cover. Reproduced in black and white, the designs hold up very well after four decades. They deserve current attention not only as examples of General's imaginative appeal to a then-new audience for "ethnic" music, but, also, because they seem unknown to art historians.

Rufino Tamayo, the greatest of Mexico's living painters, is the subject in many books, monographs, catalogs, and articles. From the special perspective of sound recording history in the United States, he represents one of the earliest modernists--if not the first--to establish high standards for album design. Born in 1899 in Oaxaca to Zapotec Indian parents, Tamayo began to draw as a student. From childhood, he had observed pre-Columbian art in its natural setting. While serving in the National Museum of Archaeology, in 1921, he began to see "Indian ruins" in ethnological perspective. To widen horizons, in 1926, he journeyed to New York with musician Carlos Chavez. Tamayo, a guitar player, married Olga Flores Rivas, a piano student, in 1934. Performing together, they shared with composer Chavez his experiments in grounding Mexican symphonic music in indigenous soil.

During the 1920s-1930s, a trio of Mexican muralists--Rivera, Orozco, Siqueiros--brought world attention to didactic art on public walls. Although Tamayo completed several magnificent murals in Mexico, France, and the United States, he rejected the leadership of "Los Tres Grandes." Instead, in easel paintings, he turned early to lyrical symbolism and stylized abstraction, in some ways anticipating the American move to Abstract Expressionism in the 1950s. For half-a-century, Tamayo has created canvases of startling

intensity--tropical still lifes, apocalyptic beasts, sensuous nudes, spectral figures, celestial shapes. Most recently (1982) he completed a huge abstract fountain sculpture for the San Francisco International Airport.

I return to Tamayo's "unknown" album covers of 1940: a Yaqui celebrant, a Mexican guitarist, Mexican marimba players. I know of no printed account describing these commercial covers, and I welcome leads. Frequently, the designation "commercial" implies tawdry work. However, such a negative does not fit the General covers. Upon acceptance, John Green saw their appeal and sensed that they would widen the following for foreign-language field discs. Purchasers, then, could buy Latin dance-band hits recorded by Xavier Cugat and others. General used Tamayo's cover illustrations to trumpet native music distant from Manhattan's hotels and nightclubs.

Looking back at the gradual shaping of an urban folksong audience, removed from folk society, we comprehend that Tamayo pulled viewers to authentic music as his cover art authenticated their belief that folksong, itself, was existentially real. Over the years as folk music has moved from its base in enclaved societies to acceptance within mainstream culture, each song has had to shoulder a wide burden of contradictory values: links to treasured antiquity, harbingers of desired change, inchoate emotion, bed-rock wisdom. I would suggest that Tamayo's three album covers supported the thesis that folksong, in its representational role, stood for sinewy fidelity to life. Ideally, we need reports from Old Pascua Village concerning Yaqui response to Tamayo's visual depiction of tribal music. Similarly, we need reports from Mexican villagers on their viewing of Tamayo's pictures of their musicians.

In 1980 Jim Griffith reissued, on a Canyon LP, several of General's Indian songs and dances: *Yaqui Fiesta & Religious Music*. While sharing an account with me of his experience in the Canyon project, Griffith reported that General had shipped copies of the Yaqui album to "Ned" Spicer in Tucson for local distribution (late 1940 or early 1941). The anthropologist passed them on to Yaqui friends, who "wore holes" in the records by constant playing. I know of no better way to pay tribute to the intrinsic value of field recordings than to pass along this recollection. Too often we hear folksong discs as outsiders, and treasure them as passports to novel identities. Here, we learn, as well, that sound recordings reinforce existing identities within traditional communities.

Deep Sea Chanteys and Whaling Ballads (G-20); Sod-Buster Ballads (G-21)

These twin sets are milestones in folksong revival history. The first cover held a print of the clipper ship "Witch of the Wave" (reproduced here); the second, lacked a cover illustration. When they became available in San

Francisco during 1942, I purchased each without knowing anything about the Almanac Singers, a continent removed. It took me some years to learn that Pete Seeger, Woody Guthrie, and Lee Hays were the individuals within this early folksinging unit. Upon listening to the albums, I responded with great enthusiasm to the chanteys in that they seemed authentic in performance. At that time I had not yet heard any Library of Congress field recordings of sea songs which might have provided reference guides.

The *Sod-Buster Ballads* proved more challenging than the sea songs, in terms of personal response, because, from childhood, I had heard cowboy music by Harry McClintock ("Haywire Mac") on California radio. "Mac," a railroad boomer and pioneer western star, had given me a sense of how cowboy music should sound. Clearly, the Almanacs were not farm boys or ranch hands, but their sod-buster numbers seemed close to McClintock's performance. Hence, I liked them. Looking back to my first experience with interpreters of folksong, I held no norms which might help me judge the Almanac's offerings beyond affection for their songs. Little did I know then of the decades ahead in which I would sort out matters of folksong substance and style.

Readers should try to listen to these Almanac discs in archive or private collection. After World War Two, Commodore reissued each set of three 78-rpm discs as *Sod-Buster Ballads* (CR-10) and *Deep Sea Chanteys...* (CR-11). I lack the precise date of Commodore's acquisition of General's masters and rights. About 1955, Commodore again reissued these items on an LP titled *The Soil and the Sea* (S/6005). During 1964 in England, Fontana released an LP, *The Sea and the Soil* (Mainstream TL 5299), combining all of the songs from General's original Almanac albums. I have never seen an accurate discography which traces the full history of these sets.

During 1948 the *Journal of American Folklore* began to review folksong discs. Charles Seeger, the first reviewer, clustered the two Almanac albums with *Listen to Our Story* (Brunswick B-1024) and *Mountain Frolic* (Brunswick B-1025). These latter sets, edited by Alan Lomax in 1947, drew on previously issued race and hillbilly discs then in Decca's vaults. Seeger's essay has become a classic, for he raised the matter of intellectual sentimentalization of "The Folk" while its music reached new popularity. Seeger described various performance styles as markers in the process of music crossing cultural boundaries. Seeking explanatory language to describe folksong records, he placed them along a figurative highway (concert/citybilly/hillbilly/folk) with movement in both directions. Seeger felt the Almanac's chanteys to be strictly citybilly--learned from books and discs, and, hence, tenuous in links to experience of these singers. He felt the sod-buster items to be hillbilly--redeemed somewhat because Guthrie and Hays had learned some of their songs within traditional settings.

Two recent books offer a few facts on General's Almanac session: David Dunaway, *How Can I Keep from Singing* (1981); Joe Klein, *Woody Guthrie: A Life* (1982). Dunaway's biography of Pete Seeger notes that the Almanac Singers, bound by shared radical ideology as well as affection for folksong, had come together in Manhattan. In March 1941 the ensemble recorded its first album, *Songs for John Doe* (Keynote 102); in May, *Talking Union* (Keynote 106). Late in June, Alan Lomax shepherded the Almanacs to the Reeves Sound Studio where they recorded, in one session, the contents of the maritime and prairie albums.

Joe Klein, in his Guthrie biography, adds details. In Spring 1941, Woody had worked for the Bonneville Power Administration, composing several memorable songs, including "Roll On Columbia." He arrived in New York shortly after the German attack on Russia, 22 June 1941--an event highly important to the Almanacs. During the time of the Hitler-Stalin pact, this group had followed the Communist Party isolationist line. With the Soviets threatened, the Almanacs reversed fields and plunged into mainstream win-the-war activity.

The Almanac Singers scheduled a CIO tour, beginning July 4 in Philadelphia. Klein states that the night before, the group "recorded two non-political albums for General Records, a small jazz-oriented label that wanted to branch out" (p. 199). Klein reports that the Almanacs had received a \$250.00 advance for their work. Dunaway (p. 83) reports that the Almanacs netted \$400.00, enough to buy a roomy 1929 Buick for the tour. So much for recording fees and auto prices in 1941.

General's Almanac sets deserve additional study beyond Charles Seeger's key review of 1948. As well, Joe Klein's usage "non-political albums" deserves some amplification. He is right in distinguishing the sea and sod-buster folksongs from the previous hortatory and polemical items penned by the Almanac Singers for Keynote. Yet, in the setting of New Deal culture, the General albums carried their own political baggage.

In personal memory, I recall songs such as the Almanac's "Talking Union" and "Union Maid" as new partisan songs for a cause which had captured my heart. Although "Blow the Man Down" and "Haul Away Joe" were traditional work songs, I did not decipher their hidden ideological content upon first hearing the Almanac renditions. The "House of the Rising Sun"--not really a sod-buster ballad, but rather a mountain blues about prostitution--haunted me. No one I knew was familiar with this song's history: no one suggested that it held any relationship to "Union Maid." Today, we have learned to talk of sexual politics and can see that a brothel, too, makes a statement on the relationship of power among men and women.

The matter of value, explicit and implicit, within folksong remains as problem-ridden as that of its role in the construction of our sense of reality. Initially, I did not hear the Almanac folk selections as holding overt political meaning, yet, casually, I slipped these two General albums into a New Deal mosaic. In this metamorphosis, I was helped to see music enacted by the old ship used on the *Sea Chanteys*' cover. As I absorbed word pictures of drowning cabin boys ("Golden Vanity") or hungry settlers ("State of Arkansas"), I placed these ballad characters into a large personal post office mural. In mind's eye, the Almanac's heroes marched hand in hand with coonskin-hatted pioneers, larger-than-life farmers, and brave union organizers. Long before I understood the phrase "politics of culture," I had used two General folksong albums to help constitute personal cultural identity.

I close with a brief mention of the last three "folk" albums listed in General's catalog, three 1942. Earl Robinson's *Songs for Americans* (G-30) came to General from Timely Records, a New York firm which folded shop in 1941. Time-ly's owner had asked Robinson to record it following the popularity of his cantata, "Ballad for Americans." I shall treat his work in a forthcoming article.

Upon release, hearers described Victoria Spivy's *Seven Gay Sophisticated Songs* (G-31) as naughty and daring. The use of the word "gay" on the album cover represents an early printed example of its extension from terms such as "Gay Nineties" (carefree era), "gay dog" (Lothario), and "gay cat" (young hobo subject to abuse), to "gay" as a public name for homosexuals. I lack information on the history of Spivy's General album, and do not know whether she drew upon traditional blues themes for these offerings. A detail will interest fans: General's Victoria Spivy, a white woman, is not to be confused with the noted blues singer of the same name. (Finally, I have noted above that *Jelly Roll's On* (G-33), although announced, may not have been released in album form.)

Hazard Reeves and his associates at General Records, helped blaze trails in the packaging of folk material for new audiences. I have focused mainly on those albums about which I have some knowledge: the sound track of a Congo film, Jelly Roll Morton's jazz, Haitian voodoo, Mexican

song, Yaqui ceremony, Anglo-American chantes, and sod-buster songs. Such variety excited Reeves; he hoped that all his offerings would sell. The fact that some of his material has been reissued on LP testifies to its continuing interest.

In reproducing General's 1942 catalog pages, and in bringing five folk covers back to life, I have tried to demonstrate Reeves's flair. We have become so accustomed to superb art and dramatic layout on contemporary LP jackets, that we have forgotten the initial albums which gave visual meaning to folksong. I have not felt it necessary, above, to comment in detail on the art selected by General's partners. A few words, in summary, highlight the good taste of one short-lived firm:

Deep Sea Chanteys and Whaling Ballads in its use of a "period" nautical print properly established the age and mood of the Almanac's maritime songs. Voodoo's drummer, today, seems to me to be overly garish. To my knowledge, in 1940 this cover drawing was the first to represent Haitian music to record purchasers in the United States. Hence, it may not have gone beyond then-current understanding of voodoo. Rufino Tamayo's Yaqui *Indian* cover holds up well over time. Spare in design, it conveys the album's contents: native instruments, songs of ritual for birth and death. Finally, his two *Mexican* covers catch our attention in their stylized approach to regional dress and performance. Present-day viewers can ask: Which of these five covers would be most appropriate in the 1980s for folk and ethnic LPs?

In this commentary I have been conscious of how little I know of the early labels for folksong. Who can help? To repeat: the *JEMF Quarterly* welcomes discographies, and analytic accounts about all recording firms which pioneered in the preservation/presentation of America's musical traditions. Better than many sister journals, we can fill in this neglected chapter in sound recording history. We know that a single recording--blues, ballad, folksong, or country hit--reveals multiple strategies within the music industry, as it also touches large matters of culture within the polity. We treasure discs for the vernacular music they contain; we resonate to this music's inherent pleasure; we puzzle over each disc's capacity to enlarge our sense of human diversity.

--San Francisco, California



A PRELIMINARY INDEX OF COUNTRY MUSIC ARTISTS
AND SONGS IN COMMERCIAL MOTION PICTURES (1928-1953)

Part 2

by

Willie Smyth

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| Cowboy from Brooklyn (GN, 1938) | Deputy Marshal (LPT, 1949); Frances Langford |
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- Desperate Trails (UNIV, 1939); Bob Baker, Johnny Mack Brown
- Devil's Saddle Legion (WB, 1937); Dick Foran
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- Devil's Trail (COL, 1941); Tex Ritter
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When the Sun Goes Down
- Ding Dong Williams (RKO, 1946); Bob Nolan and the Sons of the Pioneers, Anne Jeffreys, Mary McGuire
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Cool Water
I Saw You First
- Don't Fence Me In (REP, 1945); Dale Evans, Roy Rogers, Sons of the Pioneers
Don't Fence Me In
Kiss Goodnight
Last Roundup
Tumbling Tumbleweeds
- Down Dakota Way (REP, 1947); Roy Rogers, Dale Evans, Foy Willing & the Riders of the Purple Sage
Candy Kisses
- Down in Arkansaw (REP, 1938); artists unknown
The Farmer is Not in the Dell
- Down Laredo Way (REP, 1953); Rex Allen
- Down Mexico Way (REP, 1941); Gene Autry, Smiley Burnette, Herrero Sisters
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Big Town Gal
If Something Don't Happen Soon
I'm So in Love with You
Just Can't Get that Guy
Monkey Business
Old Missouri Hayride
There's a Rose that Grows in the Ozarks
- Down the Wyoming Trail (MON, 1939); Tex Ritter, Northwesterners
Goin' Back to Texas
He Looks So Peaceful Now
In Elk Valley
It Makes No Difference Now
- O Little Town of Bethlehem
Silent Night
- Driftin' River (PRC, 1946); Eddie Dean, Sunshine Boys
Driftin' River
Way Back in Oklahoma
- Drifting Along (MON, 1946); Curt Barrett & the Trailsmen
- Duchess of Idaho (MGM, 1950); Willie Johnson & the Golden Gate Quartet, Jubalaires
- Dude Cowboy (RKO, 1941); Ray Whitley
- Dude Ranch Harmony (ASTOR Short, 1949); Davey Groom & His Texans
- The Durango Kid (COL, 1940); Sons of the Pioneers
The Prairie Sings a Lullaby
There's a Rainbow Over the Range
Yippi-Yo Your Troubles Away
- Echo Ranch (UNIV, 1949); Dave McEnery
- El Dorado Pass (COL, 1949); Smiley Burnette, Shorty Thompson & His Saddle Rockin' Rhythms
- Empty Holsters (WB, 1937); Dick Foran
- Enemy of the Law (PRC, 1945); Tex Ritter
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You Will Have to Pay
- Everybody Dancin' (LPT, 1950); Spade Cooley, Sons of the Pioneers
Oblivious
Rumba Boogie
- Eyes of Texas (REP, 1948); Roy Rogers, Sons of the Pioneers
Grave Digger of the West
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Texas Trails
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- Feudin' Rhythm (COL, 1949); Eddy Arnold, Carolina Cotton, Mustard & Gravy, Oklahoma Wranglers
- The Fiddlin' Buckaroo (UNIV, 1933); Ken Maynard

Fighting Bill Fargo (UNIV, 1942); Eddie Dean
Trio, Bob Baker

Geraldine
Happiness Corral
Welcome Home

Fighting Buckaroo (COL, 1943); Ernest Tubb
w/Johnny Luther's Ranch Boys

The Fighting Coast Guard (REP, 1951); Sons of
the Pioneers

Fighting Frontier (RKO, 1943); Cliff Edwards

Fighting Frontiersman (COL, 1946); Smiley Bur-
nette, Hank Newman & the Georgia Crackers

Fighting Mustang (ASTOR Short, 1948); Tex Wil-
liams & His Western Caravan

Flame of the West (MON, 1945); Pee Wee King &
His Golden West Cowboys

From Here to Eternity (COL, 1953); Merle Travis
Re-enlishment Blues (overdub)

Frontier Frolic (UNIV Short, 1946); Bob Wills
& the Texas Playboys

Goodbye Liza Jane
I Betcha My Heart I Love You
San Antonio Rose
Texas Playboy Rag
Western Medley

Frontier Fugitives (PRC, 1946); Tex Ritter

Frontier Fury (COL, 1943); Jimmie Davis & His
Singing Buckaroos

Frontier Gun Law (COL, 1946); Al Trace & His
Silly Symphonists

Frontier Pony Express (REP, 1939); Roy Rogers

Frontier Scout (GN, 1938); George Houston

Frontier Town (GN, 1938); Tex Ritter, Jimmy
Wakely and His Saddle Pals

Brass Wagon
Old Cayuse
Streets of Laredo
Yip Yow I'm an Eagle

The Frontiersmen (PMT, 1938); St. Brendan Boys
Choir

Fugitive Valley (MON, 1941); John "Dusty" King
Chisholm Trail
My Little Prairie Annie
Riding Along

Gallant Defender (COL, 1935); Sons of the
Pioneers

Covered Wagon
New Frontier

Galloping Thunder (COL, 1946); Merle Travis and
His Bronco Busters, Smiley Burnette

Gangsters of the Frontier (PRC, 1944); Tex
Ritter

He's Gone up the Trail
Please Remember Me
Ride, Ranger, Ride

Gaucha Serenade (REP, 1940); Gene Autry, Smiley
Burnette

Gaucha Serenade
Give out With a Song
Headin' For the Wide Open Spaces
Keep Rolling
The Singing Hills
A Song at Sunset
Wooing of Kitty MacFirty

Gay Cavalier (MON, 1946); Ramsey Ames

Gay Cavalier
One Kiss
Ride, Amigos, Ride
Rio of the Rio Grande
Traditional Mexican Tunes (2)

The Gay Ranchero (REP, 1948); Roy Rogers, Sons of
the Pioneers, Tito Guizar, Jane Frazee

Cowboy Country
Gay Ranchero
Granada
Wait'll I Get My Sunshine in the Moonlight
You Belong To My Heart

Gene Autry and the Mounties (COL, 1951); Elena
Verdugo, Gene Autry

Anteora Loves Ritornella
Blue Canadian Rockies

Germonica Pass (unk.); Tex Ritter

My Gal From Houston

Ghost Town Riders (UNIV, 1938); Bob Baker

Headin' Home
It Ain't So Rosy on the Range

Girl From Gunsight (UI Short, 1949); Tex Wil-
liams, Smokey Rogers, Deuce Spriggins

Git Along Little Dogies (REP, 1937); Gene Autry,
Maple City Four

After You've Gone
Chinatown

Coming 'Round the Mountain
 Git Along Little Dogies
 Goodnight Ladies
 Happy Days Are Here Again
 Honey Bringing Honey To You
 If You Want to Be a Cowboy
 In the Valley Where the Sun Goes Down
 Long, Long Ago
 Oh Suzanna
 Red River Valley
 Stock Selling Song
 Wait For the Wagon

Go West (MGM, 1940); Harpo Marx, John Carroll,
 June MacCloy

Land of the Sky Blue Waters
 Ridin' the Range
 You Can't Argue With Love

Go West Young Lady (COL, 1941); Bob Wills and
 the Texas Playboys, The Foursome

Ida Red
 Osage Stomp

Gold Mine in the Sky (REP, 1938); Gene Autry,
 Pee Wee King, Stafford Sisters, Frankie Mar-
 vin, J.L. Franks and the Golden West Cowboys

As Long as I Have My Horse
 Dude Ranch Cowboys
 Hummin' When We're Coming 'Round the Bend
 I'm a Tumbleweed Terror
 That's How Donkey's Were Born
 There's a Gold Mine in the Sky

Gold Strike (UI Short, 1950); Tex Williams and
 His Western Caravan

Gold Town Ghost Raiders (REP, 1953); Gene Autry,
 Smiley Burnette

Pancho's Widow
 There's a Goldmine in Your Heart
 Thieving Burro

The Golden Stallion (REP, 1949); Roy Rogers,
 Dale Evans, Foy Willing and the Riders of
 the Purple Sage

The Golden Trail (MON, 1940); Tex Ritter, Eddie
 Dean

Gold is Where You Find It
 They're Hanging Pappy in the Morning

Grand Canyon Trail (REP, 1948); Roy Rogers,
 Foy Willing and the Riders of the Purple
 Sage

Colorado Joe

Grand Ole Opry (REP, 1940); Roy Acuff, "Judge"
 George Hay, Uncle Dave Macon, Dorris Macon,
 Weaver Brothers & Elviry

Great Speckled Bird
 Square Dance

Union County
 Wabash Cannonball

Guilty Trails (UNIV, 1938); Bob Baker
 Ring Around the Moon Tonight

Gun Law Justice (MON, 1949); Jimmy Wakely

Gun Rhythm (GN, 1940); Tex Fletcher

Gun Runner (MON, 1949); Jimmy Wakely

Gun Shot Pass (REP, 1948); Johnnie Arizona

Guns and Guitars (REP, 1937); Gene Autry, Smiley
 Burnette

Cowboy Medicine Show
 Dreamy Valley
 Guns and Guitars
 Ridin' All Day
 Roamin' Around the Range

Gunman's Code (UNIV, 1946); Fuzzy Knight

Guns of the Law (PRC, 1945); Tex O'Brien, Jim
 Newill, Jennifer Holt, Guy Wilkerson

Guns of the Pecos (WB, 1937); Dick Foran

Gunsmoke Mesa (PRC, 1945); Jim Newill, Tex
 O'Brien, Guy Wilkerson

Hail to the Rangers (COL, 1943); Bob Atcher,
 Leota Atcher

Cool Water

Hands Across the Border (REP, 1944); Roy Rogers,
 Sons of the Pioneers, Ruth Terry

Cool Water
 The Girl in the High Button Shoes
 Hands across the Border
 When Your Heart's on Easy Street

Happy Ranch Boys (1930 Short)

Rolling Stones

Harlem on the Prairie (REP, 1938); Herbert
 Jeffrey

Ridin' down the Trail to Albuquerque

Harlem Rides the Prairie (HW, 1939); Herbert
 Jeffrey, The Four Tones

Harmony Lane (unk., 1935); Smiley Burnette

Harmony Trail (ASTOR, 1944); Eddie Dean

Hawaiian Buckaroo (20th, 1938); Smith Ballew

Hawaiian Memories
 I Left Her on the Beach at Waikiki
 Ridin' to the Rhythm of the Roundup

Hawk of Powder River (PRC, 1948); Eddie Dean,
The Plainsmen

Headin' for the Rio Grande (GN, 1936); Tex Ritter
Campfire Love Song
Heading for the Rio Grande
Jailhouse Lament
Night Herding Song

Headin' West (COL, 1946); Smiley Burnette, Hank
Penny & His Plantation Boys

Heart of the Golden West (REP, 1942); Roy Rogers,
Sons of the Pioneers, Hall Johnson Choir

Carry Me Back to Old Virginny
Cowboys and Indians
I Grab My Saddle Horn and Blow
Night Falls on the Prairie
River Chant
River Robin - Lone Buckaroo
Who's Gonna Help Me Sing

Heart of the North (WB, 1938); Dick Foran

Heart of the Rio Grande (REP, 1942); Gene Autry,
Jimmy Wakely Trio, Smiley Burnette, Edith
Fellows

Cimarron
Deep in the Heart of Texas
Dusk on the Painted Desert
I'll Wait for You
Oh Woe is Me
Rainbow in the Night
Rancho Pillow
Rocky Canyon
A Rumble Seat for Two

Heart of the Rockies (REP, 1951); Roy Rogers,
Foy Willing & the Riders of the Purple Sage

Heart of the Rockies
Prairie Country
Rodeo Square Dance
Wanderin'

Heart of the West (PMT, 1936); Bill Boyd

Heldorado (REP, 1946); Roy Rogers, Dale Evans,
Sons of the Pioneers

Eyes of Blue
Good Neighbor
Heldorado
My Saddle Pals and I
Silver Stars, Purple Sage

Hi Neighbor (REP, 1942); Roy Acuff & His
Smoky Mountain Boys, Lulubelle & Scotty,
"Pappy" Cheshire

Don't Be Bashful
Hail to Greenfield
Hi Neighbor
I Know We Are Saying Goodbye
Moo Woo Woo
Not a Word from Home

Pass the Biscuits, Mirandy
Stuck Up Blues

Hidden Valley Days (UNIV, 1949); Dave McEnery

High Lonesome (EL, 1950); Chill Wills
20 Miles from Carson

High Noon (UA, 1950); Tex Ritter (offscreen)
High Noon

Hills of Oklahoma (REP, 1950); Rex Allen

Hills of Utah (COL, 1951); Gene Autry

Back to Utah
Happy Easter Day
Peter Cottontail

Hit Parade of 1947 (REP, 1947); Roy Rogers, Sons
of the Pioneers

Is There Anybody Here from Texas
Out California Way

Hittin' the Trail (GN, 1937); Tex Ritter & His
Tornados, Ray Whitley & His Range Ramblers,
The Phelps

Blood on the Saddle
I'm a Natural Born Cowboy
I'm Goin' to Town (The Shaving Song)
I'm Hittin' the Trail for Home
The Renegade Song
Rip Snortin' Sheriff

Hoedown (COL, 1950); Eddy Arnold, Oklahoma
Wranglers, Carolina Cotton, Pied Pipers

I Betcha I Getcha, Baby
I'm Sending You a Big Bouquet of Roses
I'm Throwing Rice at the Gal I Love
Just a Little Lovin'
They All Go Native on a Saturday Night

Holiday Rhythm (LPT, 1950); Cass County Boys,
Gloria Grey, Tex Ritter

Hollywood Barn Dance (SG, 1947); Jimmie & Leon
Short, Ernest Tubb & the Texas Troubadors,
Jack Guthrie, Helen Boice, Red Herron

Cowboy Sweetheart
Listen to the Mockingbird
Oakie Boogie
Old Indians Never Die
Walking the Floor Over You
You Nearly Lost Your Mind

Hollywood Canteen (WB, 1944); Roy Rogers, Sons
of the Pioneers, Willie Johnson & Golden Gate
Quartet, Andrews Sisters

Don't Fence Me In
General Jumped at Dawn
Tumbling Tumbleweeds

Home in Oklahoma (REP, 1946); Roy Rogers, Dale Evans, Sons of the Pioneers

Cowboy Ham and Eggs
Everlasting Hills of Oklahoma
Home in Oklahoma
Miguelito

Home in San Antone (COL, 1949); Roy Acuff & the Smoky Mountain Boys, Doye O'Dell, Modernaires

Freight Train Blues
Home in San Antone
Old Dan Tucker

Home in Wyomin' (REP, 1942); Gene Autry

Any Bonds Today?
Clementine
I'm Thinking Tonight of My Blue Eyes
Modern Design
Trail in Old Wyomin'
Tweedle O Twill

Home on the Prairie (REP, 1939); Gene Autry, Smiley Burnette, Bob Woodward & the Rodeoliers, Sherven Brothers

Big Bull Frog
I'm Gonna Round Up My Blues
Moonlight on the Ranch House

Home on the Range (REP, 1946); Sons of the Pioneers, Monte Hale

Down at the Old Hoe Down
Happy-Go-Lucky Cowboy
Over the Rainbow Trail
Take Your Time

Honor of the West (UNIV, 1939); Bob Baker

As the Chuck Wagon Rolls Along
Pride of the Prairie

Hoosier Holiday (REP, 1942); Dale Evans and the Music Maids, Hoosier Hot Shots, George "Shug" Fisher

Idaho (REP, 1943); Roy Rogers, Sons of the Pioneers, Mitchell Boys Choir

Don Juan
Holy, Holy, Holy
Home on the Range
Idaho
Lone Buckaroo
Stop
Whoopee Ti Yo

I'm from Arkansas (PRC, 1944); Carolina Cotton, Pied Pipers, Jimmy Wakely, Sunshine Girls, Milo Twins

In Old Amarillo (REP, 1951); Roy Rogers, Roy Rogers' Riders, Estelita Rodriguez

If I Ever Fall in Love
In Old Amarillo
Under the Lone Star Moon
Wasteland

In Old Arizona (UNIV, 1929); Ken Maynard

My Tonia

In Old Caliente (REP, 1939); Roy Rogers

Ride on Vacquero
Sundown on the Rangeland
We're Not Coming Out Tonight

In Old Cheyenne (REP, 1941); Roy Rogers

In Old Monterey (REP, 1939); Hoosier Hot Shots, Gene Autry, Ranch Boys, Smiley Burnette, Sarie and Sallie

Born in the Saddle
Columbia, Gem of the Ocean
It Happened in Monterey
My Buddy, My Little Partner
Tumbling Tumbleweeds
Vacant Choir

In Old Sacramento (REP, 1946); Constance Moore

Camptown Races

In Old Santa Fe (MAS, 1934); Ken Maynard, Gene Autry, Smiley Burnette

Indian Territory (COL, 1950); Gene Autry

Chattanooga Shoeshine Boy
When the Campfire is Low on the Prairie

Jamboree (REP, 1944); Freddie Fisher Schnickelfritz Band, Ernest Tubb & His Texas Troubadors, Rufe Davis, Isabel Randolph, Ruth Terry, George "Shug" Fisher, Music Maids

Jamboree
Maggie Went to Aggie

Jeepers Creepers (REP, 1939); Roy Rogers

Jeepers Creepers

Jesse James' Women (UA, 1954); Lita Baron

Careless Lover
In the Shadows of My Heart

Joan of Ozark (REP, 1942); Judy Canova

Backwoods Barbeque
Dixie
Lady at Lockheed
Pull the Trigger
Wabash Blues

Junction City (COL, 1952); Smiley Burnette, Sunshine Boys

Kansas City Kitty (COL, 1944); Johnny Bond, Jane Frazee

Kansas City Kitty

Kentucky Jubilee (LPT, 1951); performers and songs unknown

Kid from Amarillo (COL, 1951); Cass County Boys

- Kid from Broken Gun (COL, 1952); Smiley Burnette
It's the Law
- The Kid from Gower Gulch (FRIE, 1950); Spade
Cooley
- Kid from Kansas (UNIV, 1941); Dick Foran
- Kid's Last Ride (MON, 1941); John King
Call of the Wild
It's All Part of the Game
- King of Dodge City (COL, 1941); Tex Ritter
Riding the Trail to Home
There's an Empty Cot in the Bunkhouse Tonight
To Shoot a Low Down Skunk
- King of the Cowboys (REP, 1943); Roy Rogers, Sons
of the Pioneers
Gay Ranchero
I'm an Old Cowhand
Roll Along Prairie Moon
Red River Valley
Ride 'Em Cowboy
Ride, Ranger, Ride
When We Cut Down the Old Pine Tree
- Knight of the Plains (S/P, 1939); Fred Scott
- Knights of the Range (PMT, 1939); Bill Boyd
Where the Cimarron Flows
- Lake Placid Serenade (REP, 1944); Roy Rogers
Winter Wonderland
- Land Beyond the Law (WB, 1937); Dick Foran
- Land of the Fighting Men (MON, 1938); Jack Randall,
Colorado Hillbillies
Cowboy Band
King of the Trail
The West Was Meant for Me
- Land of the Open Range (RKO, 1941); Ray Whitley
- Land Rush (COL, 1946); Ozie Waters & His Colorado
Rangers
- Laramie (COL, 1949); Elton Britt, Smiley
Burnette, Sunshine Boys
- Laramie Mountains (COL, 1952); Smiley Burnette
- Last Days of Boot Hill (COL, 1948); Smiley
Burnette, Cass County Boys
- The Last Dogie (20th, n/d); Elton Britt
- Last Frontier Uprising (REP, 1947); Monte Hale,
Doye O'Dell, Foy Willing & the Riders of the
Purple Sage
- Last Horseman (COL, 1944); Bob Wills & His Texas
Playboys
Dreamy Eyes Waltz
O.K. Oklahoma
On the Idaho Plains
Powder River
Ridin' on Down
Stoney Point
Trouble on the Range
- Last Muskateer (REP, 1952); Rex Allen, Republic
Rhythm Riders, Slim Pickens
Aura Lee
Down in the Valley
I Still Love the West
- Last of the Pony Riders (COL, 1953); Gene Autry,
Smiley Burnette
Sing Me a Song of the Saddle
Song of the Prairie
Sugar Babe
- Last Roundup (COL, 1947); Gene Autry, George
"Shug" Fisher
An Apple for the Teacher
Comin' 'Round the Mountain
Get Along Little Dogies
The Last Roundup
160 Acres in the Valley
You Can't See the Sun When You're Crying
- The Last Stand (UNIV, 1938); Bob Baker
Adios, Old Kid from Laredo
Let Me Ride Once More
Lost Dogies
- Last Outlaw (RKO, 1936); Harry Carey, Hoot Gibson
- Law of the Canyon (COL, 1947); Texas Jim Lewis
& the Lone Star Cowboys, Smiley Burnette
- Law of the Plains (COL, 1938); Sons of the Pioneers
I Follow the Stream
A No Good Sun-of-a-Gun
Roundup Time is Over
Sunset of the Range
Wind
- Law of the Range (UNIV, 1941); Lucille Walker
& the Texas Rangers
- Lawless Code (MON, 1949); Jimmy Wakely
- Lawless Empire (COL, 1945); Bob Wills & His
Texas Playboys

Let Freedom Ring (MGM, 1939); Eddy Nelson

America
The Dusty Road
Home Sweet Home
I've Been Working on the Railroad
Love Serenade
"Pat" Sez He
10,000 Cattle Straying
When Irish Eyes are Smiling
Where Else But Here

Lights of Old Santa Fe (REP, 1944); Roy Rogers,
Sons of the Pioneers

Cowpoke Polka
I'm Happy in My Levi Britches
Ride 'Em Cowboy
Trigger Hasn't Got a Perty Figure

Little Joe, the Wrangler (UNIV, 1942); Tex Ritter,
Jimmy Wakely Trio

Git Along, Little Dogie
I'll Saddle My Pony
Little Joe, the Wrangler
Streets of Laredo

Loaded Pistols (COL, 1949); Gene Autry, Cass
County Boys

Blue Tail Fly
A Boy from Texas & a Girl from Tennessee
Loaded Pistols
Pretty Mary
When the Bloom is on the Sage

Lone Hand Texan (COL, 1947); Smiley Burnette,
Mustard & Gravy

The Lone Prairie (COL, 1942); Bob Wills & His
Texas Playboys

Fiddlin' Man
Liberty
Plain Old Plains
Ridin' for the Rancho
Salt River Valley

Lone Rider Crosses the Rio Grande (PRC, 1941);
George Houston

The Lone Rider Fights Back (PRC, 1941); George
Houston

The Lone Rider Rides On (PRC, 1941); George
Houston

Lone Star Moonlight (COL, 1946); Hoosier Hot
Shots, Merle Travis Trio, Judy Clark & Her
Rhythm Cowgirls

Lone Star Trail (UNIV, 1943); Tex Ritter, Jimmy
Wakely Trio

Adios Vacqueros
I've Got to See Texas Just Once More
Trail Dreamin'
Welcome Home

Lone Star Vigilantes (COL, 1942); Tex Ritter

Headin' Home to Texas
When the Moon is Shining on the Old Corral

Lonesome Trail (MON, 1945); Jimmy Wakely, Sunshine
Girls, Saddle Pals, Fiddlin' Arthur Smith

Goodbye Good Luck My Darlin'
Lonesome Trail
Sunshine Girls

Lost Canyon (UA, 1943); Sportsmen Quartet
Jingle, Jangle, Jingle

Lost Trail (MON, 1945); Cal Shrum & His Rhythm
Rangers

Louisiana (MON, 1944); Jimmie Davis, Sunshine
Serenaders (Charlie Mitchell, Jimmy Thomason,
Lloyd Ellis, Lugan Conger, Gib Thompson, Slim
Harbert)

Bang Away My Lulu
You Are My Sunshine

Louisiana Hayride (COL, 1944); Judy Canova

Put Your Arms Around Me
Rainbow Road
Shortnin' Bread

Man from Cheyenne (REP, 1942); Roy Rogers, Sons
of the Pioneers

Happy Cowboy
Home Again in Ol' Wyoming
Long After Sundown
My Old Pal, Pal of Mine
When a Cowboy Starts A-Courtin'
You Ain't Heard Nothing 'Til You Hear
Him Roar

Man from Montana (UNIV, 1941); Bob Baker, King's
Men

Call of the Range
Those Happy Old Days
The Western Trail

Man from Music Mountain (REP, 1938); Gene Autry,
Polly Jenkins & Her Plowboys

I'm Beginning to Care
Love, Burning Love

Man from Music Mountain (REP, 1943); Roy Rogers,
Sons of the Pioneers

After the Rain
All Nice People
Goodbye Pinto
I'm Beginning to Care
King of the Cowboys
Love, Burning Love
She Works at the Third Tub in the Laundry
There's a Little Deserted Town
Wine, Women and Song

Man from Oklahoma (REP, 1945); Roy Rogers, Sons of the Pioneers

Cherro, Cherro, Cherokee
 Dragg'n the Wagon
 For You and Me
 I'm Beginning to See the Light
 I'm Gonna Have a Cowboy Wedding
 Little Bird on the Wing
 Martins and the Coys
 Prairie Mary
 Skies are Bluer

Man from Rainbow Valley (REP, 1945); Monte Hale, Sagebrush Serenaders (Enright Busse, John Scott, Frank Wilder)

The Man from Sundown (COL, 1939); Sons of the Pioneers

On the Rhythm Range
 Round-Up Time is Over

Man from Texas (MON, 1939); Tex Ritter

Men Who Wear the Star, March
 Prairie Lights

Man in the Saddle (COL, 1951); Tennessee Ernie Ford

Man in the Saddle

Marked for Murder (PRC, 1945); Tex Ritter

Froggie Went A-Courtin'
 Long Time Gone
 Tears of Regret

Marshal of Gunsmoke (UNIV, 1944); Tex Ritter, Jennifer Holt, Johnny Bond & His Red River Valley Boys

Git Along Little Dogies
 La Colondrina
 Saddle Serenade
 Sundown Trail

Marshal's Daughter (UA, 1953); Laurie Anders, Tex Ritter (offscreen)

If You Would Only Be Mine
 Marshal's Daughter
 My Heart Has Room for You

Masked Rider (UNIV, 1941); Fuzzy Knight, Guadalupe Trió

Medico of Painted Springs (COL, 1941); The Simp-Phonies

Lonely Rangelands

Melody Ranch (REP, 1940); Gene Autry, Smiley Burnette, Bob Wills & His Texas Playboys, Jimmy Durante

Call of the Canyon
 Melody Ranch
 My Gal Sal

Rodeo Rose
 Vote for Autry
 We Never Dream the Same Dream Twice

Melody Time (RKO, 1948); Roy Rogers and the Sons of the Pioneers (offscreen)

Blue Shadows on the Trail
 Pecos Bill

Melody Trail (REP, 1935); Gene Autry, Smiley Burnette

Hold on Little Dogie, Hold On
 Lone Cowboy on the Lone Prairie
 My Neighbor Hates Music
 On the Melody Trail
 Way Down on the Bottom
 Where Will the Wedding Supper Be?

Men from Texas (MON, n/d); Tex Ritter
 Prairie Lights

Mexicali Rose (REP, 1939); Gene Autry, Smiley Burnette

El Rancho Grande
 Mexicali Rose
 My Orchestra's Driving Me Crazy
 You're the Only Star in My Blue Heaven

Mississippi Rhythms (MON, 1949); Jimmie Davis, Sunshine Band

Molly Cures a Cowboy (RKO Short, 1940); Ray Whitley

Moon Over Las Vegas (UI, 1944); Gene Austin, Connie Haines, Sportsmen, Lilian Cornell

A Dream Ago
 Faithful Flo
 Moon Over Las Vegas
 Touch of Texas
 You, Marvelous You

Moon Over Montana (MON, 1946); Woody Woodiel & His Riding Rangers, Jimmy Wakely, Jesse Ashlock, Fiddlin' Arthur Smith

If You Knew What it Meant to Be Lonesome
 Moon Over Montana
 Rose of the Prairie

Moonlight and Cactus (UNIV, 1944); Andrews Sisters

Down in the Valley
 Wa Hoo

Moonlight on the Prairie (WB, 1935); Dick Foran, Sons of the Pioneers

Moonlight on the Prairie

Mountain Melody (20th Short, 1934); Frank Luther, Ray Whitley

Mountain Moonlight (REP, 1941); Weaver Brothers and Elviry

BOOK REVIEWS

THE ETHNOMUSICOLOGIST, by Mantle Hood (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, new edition, 1982), 400 pp. \$27.50.

It was good to have the opportunity to re-read Mantle Hood's *The Ethnomusicologist*. I say re-read in that the present edition, published by the Kent State University Press is an offset reprint of the 1971 edition by McGraw Hill. Hood has added a brief explanatory preface and fourteen pages of introduction, updating and amending his observations of eleven years previous.

In the view of this observer, Mantle Hood, along with Bruno Nettl and the late Alan Merriam (who was killed in a plane crash, March 1980) represent the second generation of ethnomusicologists, the previous generation being represented by such names as Erich M. von Hornbostel (trained in psychology), George Herzog (trained in linguistics and folklore), and Jaap Kunst (trained in law). It is their students, Merriam, Nettl, and Hood, who gave the discipline of ethnomusicology its substance and direction and in turn it is their students who occupy the third generation (which includes this reviewer), in many ways a rather heterogeneous group, and a group that has taken ethnomusicology to universities, research programs, and what have you, throughout the globe. To the credit of our mentors, much as we squabble amongst ourselves on occasion, the commitment and the dedication is there.

Mantle Hood, who comes to the field of ethnomusicology from a broad and diverse background, became interested in non-Western music through recordings of Javanese gamelan. Having completed his Master's degree in Composition at UCLA, he left for Amsterdam where he completed his PhD dissertation *The Nuclear Theme as a Determinant of Patet in Javanese Music* (Gronigen: 1954) in 1954. He returned to UCLA to begin his teaching career, amplifying existing courses in non-Western music initiated by the late Laurence Petram. In 1961 he formed the Institute of Ethnomusicology which he directed until his retirement in 1974.

The 1960s were often referred to as the "golden age" of ethnomusicology because the UCLA program brought such a unique spectrum of individuals together. There was a broad interest in the humanities, research money was available, and there was strong support for the Institute's programs within the University as well as from outside. The Hood era was not without controversy. His strong opinions and dominating personality coupled with a prodigious ego often created a divided camp. The infamous Wednesday afternoon seminars frequently had some lively discussions.

Hood's retirement from UCLA in June of 1974, after twenty years of teaching, marked the end of an era. *The Ethnomusicologist* is a reflection of that era. Tragically, with Hood's retirement, the Institute was disbanded and a period of sterility ensued--one current student calls it "the ho-hum period." Hopefully some carefully selected younger faculty can bring a renewed interest and a new vitality to the Ethnomusicology program at UCLA. Meanwhile, six years after his retirement, Hood joined his former student, Josef Pacholczyk, at the University of Maryland Baltimore County, in 1980. It will be interesting to see if a new era for Hood is truly underway at UMBC. In the "Introduction to the New Edition," Hood wrote: "In 1980, I joined the University of Maryland Baltimore County to help launch a new graduate program. Within one year, enrollment rose from four to thirty graduate students from the United States and nine foreign countries. The endorsement has come from every quarter. There is unbounded goodwill from colleagues all over the campus and excellent support from both campus and central administration heads."

Perhaps more significant will be UCLA's response. Will the Ethnomusicology program at UCLA continue its slow decline or will the university administration, the department of music, and the community at large make a renewed commitment to a living breathing program once again?

In the Foreword, the late Charles Seeger (d. 1979) points out that the publisher's invitation to the author was to write a textbook. Hood's answer was that "conditions do not justify such an undertaking, that there is no general agreement upon the nature of ethnomusicology--upon the scope, methods, and aims of the study--and hence no clear distinction between musicology and ethnomusicology, that ethnomusicologists are still pioneers, and that as in all pioneering it is the individual student, rather than an organized collective or profession, that blazes the paths, sets the pace, and creates the standards."

Seeger's assessment is quite valid if one is to compare Hood's *The Ethnomusicologist* with comparable works written by Hood's colleagues of the "second generation." Alan P. Merriam's view is expressed in *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1964) and Bruno Nettl's in *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology* (New York: Glencoe/The MacMillan Company, 1964). *The Ethnomusicologist* is, to some degree, an outgrowth of Hood's "Music, the Unknown," one of three essays in *Musicology* (with Frank L. Harrison and Claude V. Palisco; Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963) except that the earlier work gives the reader a comprehensive history of the field. Moreover that essay is reflective of UCLA's "Pro-seminar in Ethnomusicology"--history, background, materials, whereas *The Ethnomusicologist* brings us up to the full graduate seminar--the infamous Wednesday afternoons--to which Hood so often refers.

Hood states his position clearly. "The subject of study in the field of ethnomusicology is music." And during his twenty years at UCLA, his seminars, his performance groups, and in the writings of this book, that point of view is reflected consistently. The topics covered include such concerns as Society and its Scale of Values in the Introduction moving on to cover in the chapter headings, Musical Literacy, Transcription and Notation, Organology (including a thorough explanation of Hood's organograms, essentially a pictorial representation of the system of classification of musical instruments developed by Curt Sachs and Erich von Hornbostel, idiophones, membranophones, chordophones, aerophones--and now in the second half of the twentieth century, electronophones), Field Methods and the Technical Equation, Quest for the Norms of Style, Scientific Methods and the Laboratory and Communications. In addition, a Bibliography (not included in the first edition) has been added plus three sound sheets (small 33 1/3-rpm monaural recordings) to illustrate particular points raised in the text.

The re-reading of this volume has afforded me the opportunity to reflect back on the seminars we (Hood and his students) had together. Those seminars were extremely formative, in varying degrees, for all of us, certainly for me, and hence I read this book with a certain bias, albeit favorable. However, in terms of evaluating and understanding the discipline and the various points of view reflected by its major exponents, *The Ethnomusicologist* should be read in conjunction with Hood's earlier *Music, The Unknown* and the Merriam and Nettl books cited previously. There are other volumes, other approaches such as David Reck's rather substantial *Music of the Whole Earth* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977) and the series of essays edited by Elizabeth May, *Music of Many Cultures, an Introduction* with a foreword by Mantle Hood (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980). Most recently, Bruno Nettl has added to his very substantial output with his *The Study of Ethnomusicology, Twenty-Nine Issues and Concepts* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983) also reviewed in this issue of the *JEMFO*.

--Philip Sonnichsen
Ambiente Music Productions, Inc.
Los Angeles, California

THE STUDY OF ETHNOMUSICOLOGY: TWENTY-NINE ISSUES AND CONCEPTS, by Bruno Nettl (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983); xii + 410 pp., publications cited, index.

One of my earliest introductions to the field of ethnomusicology was through the writings of Bruno Nettl, particularly his early books, *Music in Primitive Culture* (1956), *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology* (1964), and *Folk and Traditional Music of the Western Continents* (1965). Each of these books were excellent introductions to different facets of the field, each ideally suited to the undergraduate. With his new book, *The Study of Ethnomusicology*, Nettl is clearly dealing on the graduate level. This is definitely not an introductory textbook. As one former graduate student in Ethnomusicology at UCLA recently remarked in an informal conversation, "I wish I had had Nettl's new book when I was up for my doctoral qualifying exams."

The Study of Ethnomusicology is a substantial book, 361 pages of text in small print with some 33 pages of "Publications Cited" and Index following. His training as a librarian as well as a musicologist (he served on the staff of Wayne State University as a librarian as well as a teacher of musicology from 1953 to 1964 before joining the faculty at the University of Illinois in 1964) is readily apparent. Indeed, I know of no one who clearly has a better grasp and understanding of the literature in the field of ethnomusicology than Bruno Nettl. And perhaps because most of us, of necessity or focus, become so wrapped up in our own (sometimes rather narrow) specialties, we often lose track of the larger picture. Nettl brings that larger picture back into focus for us as he discusses virtually every significant thought related to ethnomusicology.

In another review in this issue of the *JEMFO* I discussed Mantle Hood's *The Ethnomusicologist*. I noted that Hood, along with Bruno Nettl and the late Alan Merriam "represent the second generation of ethnomusicologists." It is these three, in my view, "who gave the discipline of ethnomusicology

its substance and direction..." Where Hood was championing a cause Nettl presents a more balanced, rational "objective" approach. But the value of the Nettl approach, particularly in this latest book, becomes more apparent after the reader has had the opportunity to read and digest not only Hood's book but Alan Merriam's *The Anthropology of Music* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1964).

A colleague and contemporary of Nettl's, and a writer to whom Nettl refers over thirty times in his text, John Blacking, regards Nettl's study as "an essentially personal statement of a most distinguished ethnomusicologist." Another colleague, Charlotte Frisbie, notes that "*The Study of Ethnomusicology* focuses on the central issues confronted and major concepts developed by ethnomusicologists during the past three decades...Nettl helps us better understand both the diversity and universality of the world's music."

In his preface, the author notes "The task I have set myself here is to discuss the field of ethnomusicology in terms of its central issues and problem areas of general concern that have for several decades been and continue to be subjects of debate and controversy, in the belief that such issues most clearly characterize an academic field. Each of the twenty-nine essays presented deals with a concept or an aspect of theory or procedure affecting the field of ethnomusicology as a whole and not specific to the study of any one world area or culture...The choices have been made on the basis of personal preference and background, but I believe that they reflect a broad view of the field, comprising directions regarded as central by several schools of researchers."

It is appropriate in a review to delve into the contents of the book in question but in dealing with twenty-seven chapters plus a "prelude" and "postlude" a listing may seem a bit overwhelming, particularly since such a listing might well include the various subheadings which reveal more of the author's "flavor" in dealing with various topics.

The body of the work is presented in four groups of chapters, each representing one major component of the mainstream of ethnomusicological thought as perceived by the author. "But the close interrelationship of the various issues is obvious throughout, and their overlapping is one of the intriguing aspects of the field." The book is essentially organized as follows:

The Prelude concerns the definition of ethnomusicology while Chapters 1-9 deal with the field as the comparative study of musical systems. Chapter 1 discusses the concept of music; Chapter 2, music making; Chapter 3, the question of universals. Chapter 4-9 discuss various issues involving the analytical process; Chapter 4 the problem of identifying, in music, units somewhat analogous to languages; Chapter 5, comparison and comparative study; Chapter 6, transcription and visual representations of music; Chapter 7, a number of general problems involving description and analysis of repertoires or bodies of music; Chapter 8, the identification and study of the individual musical work; and Chapter 9, the problem of determining degrees of similarity and difference among musics and musical artifacts.

The next section, Chapters 10-17, deals with various aspects of the study of music in culture. Chapter 10 discusses music in relationship to the culture concept, and the general problems of musical ethnography. Chapter 11 concerns uses and functions of music; Chapter 12, musical origins; Chapter 13, some aspects of musical change as studied in ethnomusicology; Chapter 14, oral tradition as the normal form of musical transmission and as an area especially of ethnomusicological study; Chapter 15, the study of music as symbol and as a system of symbols; Chapter 16, the use of geographic distributions in ethnomusicology; and Chapter 17, the question of what causes a society to have a particular musical style.

Fieldwork is the subject of Chapters 18-22. Chapter 18 deals with the general character of ethnomusicological field research; Chapter 19 discusses the contrast between the outsider and the "insider" of a culture. Chapter 20 is concerned with the concept of preservation as a major component of fieldwork and of ethnomusicology at large; Chapter 21, the study of the individual in ethnomusicology; and Chapter 22, the relationship of fieldworker and informant or teacher in the matter of ethics. Chapters 23-27 discuss some of the issues related to the concept of ethnomusicology as the study of all the world's music; Chapter 23, the existence of social and musical strata in a society, with emphasis on the concept of folk music; Chapter 24, the role of the ethnomusicologist's personal and/or cultural values in research; Chapter 25, the study of learning and teaching; Chapter 26, the study of special and sometimes neglected components of a society's music, the repertoires of women, children, and minorities. Chapter 27 discusses some of the special problems occasioned by the universal influence of Western culture, music, and musical thought in the twentieth century. Finally, the Postlude deals briefly with some broad trends in the history of ethnomusicology.

Nettl regards his group of essays as "...substantially a personal statement of what I think ethnomusicology has been and is all about." We in the field are richer for having Bruno Nettl as one of our principal mentors as well as one of our colleagues.

--Philip Sonnichsen
Ambiente Music Productions, Inc.
Los Angeles, California

A HISTORY OF MUSIC IN AMERICAN LIFE, Vol. 1--THE FORMATIVE YEARS, 1620-1865, by Ronald L. Davis (Malahar, Florida: Robert Krieger Publishing Company, 1982). 301 pp., introduction, acknowledgments, illustrations, bibliographical notes, index. \$22.00, cloth; \$12.50, paper.

A HISTORY OF MUSIC IN AMERICAN LIFE, Vol. 2--THE GILDED YEARS, 1865-1920, by Ronald L. Davis (Malahar, Florida: Robert Krieger Publishing Company, 1983). 268 pp., introduction, acknowledgments, illustrations, bibliographical notes, index. \$18.00, cloth; \$11.50, paper.

A HISTORY OF MUSIC IN AMERICAN LIFE, Vol. 3--THE MODERN ERA, 1920-PRESENT, by Ronald L. Davis (Malahar, Florida: Robert Krieger Publishing Company, 1981). 444 pp., introduction, acknowledgments, illustrations, bibliographical notes, index. \$29.50, cloth; \$19.50, paper.

Attempts to produce a history of all forms of American music have been noteworthy for their lack of success. One problem has been that no author is equally interested in or knowledgeable about all musical genres. He enjoys, or is concerned with, more of some categories than others and it is virtually impossible for his preferences not to be revealed by the amount of coverage and varying degrees of information provided. John Tasker Howard's *Our American Music* is slanted in favor of classical music while Gilbert Chase's *America's Music* is more heavily weighted on the side of popular musics. Now, Ronald L. Davis, a student of the opera who has two previous books on that area of music, is the latest to undertake writing a comprehensive history of all American music and, unfortunately, he is no more successful than those who have tried previously. Not only does he give disproportionate attention to classical music but when he does discuss popular musics his comments are filled with errors. Of course, any book is likely to have some mistakes but they permeate Davis's three volumes to such an extent that they are impossible to overlook.

A few of the errors are merely typographical and probably attributable to faulty proofreading rather than the author's intent. Such, for example, is a reference to Frank Loesser's 1945 hit "Rodger Young" which is incorrectly called "Ballard of Rodger Young" (p. 338, vol. 3). The statement that Edward MacDowell "poured over tales of elves and fairies" (p. 109, vol. 2) undoubtedly also belongs to the same category. But the same excuse cannot be offered for such inaccuracies as calling the 1932 Herman Hupfeld song "Let's Put Out the Lights (and Go To Sleep)" by the incorrect title "Let's Turn Out the Lights and Go To Bed" (p. 335, vol. 3), or retitling Bessie Smith's "Back Water Blues" as "Black Water Blues" (p. 210, vol. 2); or "Ma" Rainey's "Slow-Drivin' Moan" as "Slow-Drivin' Moon" (p. 208, vol. 2). There are many other such errors that might be cited but there are also several other types of mistakes scattered throughout these volumes.

Davis seems to have a lack of concern with precise dates. Thus, the 1905 song "What You Goin' To Do When the Rent Comes 'Round" is incorrectly listed as a 1904 publication (p. 192, vol. 2); and incorrect dates of publication are given for, among others, Paul Dresser's "On the Banks of the Wabash, Far Away" (p. 182, vol. 2), Tell Taylor's "Down By the Old Mill Stream" (p. 188, vol. 2), and James Kendis, James Brockman, and Nat Vincent's "I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles" (p. 189, vol. 2). Davis also has problems with other types of dates. He asserts incorrectly (p. 344, vol. 3) that "Your Hit Parade" went off television in 1953. Later, he states that Patsy Cline's career ended in 1957 rather than the correct 1963 (p. 368, vol. 3). *Holiday Inn*, the film in which the song "White Christmas" was introduced, appeared in 1942, not 1940 (p. 340, vol. 3). Davis even has trouble dating photographs as, for example, the photo in volume 2 of the Four Cohans which, according to the caption, is from July 1878. Unfortunately, the date could not possibly be correct for George M. Cohan was born in 1878 and he is definitely several years old in this picture. There are many more erroneous dates that might be cited here for they are found on virtually every page where Davis discusses anything other than classical music.

Unfortunately, the errors do not stop here, for it is not just dates that Davis has trouble with. He sometimes has difficulty with names, such as when he calls bluesman John Lee Hooker, "John Lee Hooper" (p. 377, vol. 3). On the same page he maintains that Bo Diddley originated the swiveling hip motions later adopted by Elvis Presley (p. 377, vol. 3) even though there are several dancers and singers who used the flamboyant style that predated both Diddley and Presley by many years. There were also female superstars in country music long before Kitty Wells (p. 368, vol. 3), a fact that seems to be forgotten by some modern writers. Davis also reveals a regrettable tendency to accept legends about song origins as fact. Thus, he repeats as gospel the story attributed to Thomas Dartmouth "Daddy" Rice about the origin of "Jump Jim Crow" (p. 205, vol. 1) even though there is considerable reason to doubt its authenticity. There is even less reason to accept the legend that Gussie Davis's 1896 "In the Baggage Coach Ahead" was based on an actual incident (p. 183, vol. 2) or that Harry von Tilzer's "A Bird in a Gilded Cage" was written in a brothel (p. 191, vol. 2) but Davis does.

Among the other bits of erroneous or misleading information scattered throughout these three volumes are statements revealing that Davis understands little about the nature of native American balladry (p. 237, vol. 1), the blues (pp. 202, 206, vol. 2), or folk music (pp. 234, 238, vol. 1). Many of his comments on country music and blues make Davis sound like a cultural snob, and his myriad

errors of fact, only a few of which are listed here, do nothing to disspele the image. Most of his mistakes could have been averted by a bit more attention to details. Of course, there is the possibility that Davis is merely synthesizing material and just repeating errors made by other writers. Even if that is the case, he is not totally blameless for even a synthesizer should do some checking on the reliability of his references.

Because *A History of Music in American Life* is the most recent attempt to provide a history of all American musical forms it is not valueless, if for no other reason merely because there isn't any similar work that is better. But it is far from being what it should be, especially in its treatment of various types of popular music. There is still not a book that succeeds in properly dissecting and analyzing the entire spectrum of American musical history.

--W. K. McNeil
The Ozark Folk Center
Mountain View, Arkansas

NEW PUBLICATION FROM JEMF

SPECIAL SERIES #14, *COUNTRY MUSIC RECORDED PRIOR TO 1943: A DISCOGRAPHY OF LP REISSUES*," compiled by Willie Smyth, Preface by Norm Cohen. 8 1/2" x 11", 83 pp., softcovers; \$7.50.

Both serious collectors and fans will be interested in this discography of hillbilly/country-western music recorded prior to 1943, which have subsequently been released on long-playing (LP) discs. The main body of the collection consists of over 400 albums arranged alphabetically by record company. Smyth also compiled an Artist Index and a Title Index containing over 3,000 selections; the listings are also cross-referenced to the same songs that have been recorded under different titles. Norm Cohen, in the Preface, discusses the Scope of the Discography, a detailed History of Reissues, and the Significance of Reissues. Cohen also includes an outline of the format of the book, as well as two Appendices: I--"Albums With Material Taken from Radio Transcription Discs," II--"A Selected List of Recommended LPs"; 1) Broad Survey Albums; 2) Individual Artists (or Groups); 3) Regional Anthologies. For all who are interested in the field of commercially-recorded American Hillbilly and Country & Western music, this useful discography is a "must" on their book shelves.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC NOTES

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BLACK MUSIC, VOL. 4: THEORY, EDUCATION, AND RELATED STUDIES, by Dominique-Rene de Lerma (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984). xiv + 254 pp., 8 1/2 x 11", clothcovers, \$39.95.

This volume, the fourth in what promises to be an extended series of bibliographic references on black music, is divided into 38 short chapters. The subjects covered include various instruments and voice; performance practice, improvisation, oral tradition, notation, theory; rhythm, melody and tuning, harmony and counterpoint, form, orchestration, style and analysis, and composition techniques. Three sections are devoted to education, including subsections on primary and secondary schools (in Africa as well as in the Americas) and on several specific American institutes of higher learning. Other topics represented are dance, literature and language, theater, graphic arts, aesthetics, the music industry, psychology and physiology, politics and sociology, economics, theology and liturgy, awards and contests, and children's and women's studies.

According to the Introduction, with this volume, 19,397 entries are covered in the four volumes published to date, though not without some overlap between different volumes. The fifth and sixth volumes will be devoted to individuals and the music itself, respectively. The pages are photo-off-set from camera-ready typewriter copy. The volume concludes with a 40-page index of authors, editors, and illustrators.

DIAMONDS AND RUST: A BIBLIOGRAPHY AND DISCOGRAPHY ON JOAN BAEZ, compiled and edited by Joan Swanekamp (Ann Arbor: Pierian Press, 1980). viii + 75 pp., 6" x 9", photos, clothcovers. This volume includes 184 articles in magazines, books, and newspapers, published between 1961 and 1977. The main listing is followed by author, title, subject, and periodicals indexes. The bibliographic section is followed by an album discography and chronology, list of singles, and composer and song title indexes. A two-page biographical sketch opens the work.

THE LISTENER'S GUIDE TO FOLK MUSIC, by Sarah Lifton (New York: Facts on File, 1983). 140 pp., 4 1/2" x 9", photos; clothcovers, \$11.95.

THE LISTENER'S GUIDE TO THE BLUES, by Peter Guralnick (New York: Facts on File, 1982). 137 pp., 4 1/2" x 9", photos; clothcovers, \$11.95.

These two volumes are on hand from a larger series of guides each of which is devoted to a different type of music, "from chamber music to blues." The Folk Music guide is perhaps less successful, mainly because it attempts such broad coverage--England, Scotland, Ireland, and the United States occupy approximately 40, 20, 30, and 43 pages, respectively, with the latter regional chapter subdivided into mountain tradition, black tradition, urban revival, and current urban scene. In each section, biographical sketches are given of important figures, followed by selected recordings, both anthologies and single artist albums. Highlights of each recommended album are noted. The Blues guide covers less ground more intensively and in a less conversational writing style, but the basic organizational pattern is similar. A serious flaw in the Blues guide, considering the purpose of the guides, is the omission of record release numbers for all of the albums selected for discussion.

THE CHESS LABELS: A DISCOGRAPHY, compiled by Michel Ruppli (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1983). 2 vols, xvi + 733 pp., \$75 set. The seventh in Greenwood's series of discographies, this set covers the Chess label and associated labels from 1947, when the Chess brothers started the Aristocrat label, through 1975. The bulk of the work is a numerical listing by master number of all Chess recordings, giving personnel, recording date, and release numbers. This is followed by numerical listings for separate labels: Aristocrat, Checker, Chess, Marterry, Argo, Cadet. The next section lists EPs and LPs by label, in numerical order, including Argo, Chess, Pye, Barclay, Heads, Neptune, Cadet, Checker, GRT, and foreign releases. The books conclude with alphabetical artist index.

SONGS OF AMERICAN LABOR, INDUSTRIALIZATION AND THE URBAN WORK EXPERIENCE: A DISCOGRAPHY, edited and with an Introduction by Richard A. Reuss, with an Afterword by Archie Green (Ann Arbor, Mich: Labor Studies Center, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, The University of Michigan, 1983). 109 pp., 8.5" x 11", papercovers; \$4.75. The main portion of this discography is a listing, alphabetically by artist, of 149 LP-albums that include four or more songs the author identifies as "musical descriptions of the labor and industrial experiences and urban work life of the United States and Canada" (p. 7). A handful of relevant 78-rpm albums are also included. The albums range in date from the Alamanc Singers's *Talking Union* (1941) to several issued in 1981, and include a variety of styles from country to folk to pop. The arbitrary restriction to albums containing four or more songs that fall within the purview of the discography was established purely for reasons of convenience. The consequences of this constraint, as well as others, are discussed in detail by Reuss in his Introduction and by Green in his Afterword.

THE CASH BOX SINGLES CHARTS, 1950-1981, compiled by Frank Hoffman with the assistance of Lee Ann Hoffmann (Metuchen, N.J., and London: The Scarecrow Press, 1983). xv + 860 pp.; \$49.50, hardcovers. The main body of this book is an alphabetical artist index listing all song titles that appeared in *Cash Box*'s singles charts during the period covered. Song titles are listed in order of date of first appearance. For each song is given the chart position for each week that the song remained on the charts. Also given for each song is the record label and release number. This listing is followed by an alphabetical song title index which gives for each song the recording artist's name under which more data can be found. Appendices include: (1) No. 1 Records--A Chronological Listing; (2) Top 10 Records of Each Year; (3) Records with Longest Run on Charts; (4) Artists with most chart hits; (5) Artists with most No. 1 hits; (6) Artists with most weeks at Number 1; (7) Records with most weeks at Number 1; and (8) Record Company name abbreviations.

VARIETY ENTERTAINMENT AND OUTDOOR AMUSEMENTS: A REFERENCE GUIDE, by Don B. Wilmeth (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982). xiii + 242 pp., \$35.00 clothcovers. The author treats successively in a dozen chapters popular entertainment in general; outdoor amusements; the American circus; the Wild West exhibition; the dime museum and P.T. Barnum; the medicine show; the minstrel show; variety/ vaudeville; burlesque and the striptease; the musical revue and early musical theater; stage magic; and variety on floating palaces and in traveling tent theaters. Each chapter begins with an historical summary of three to twelve pages's length, includes a prose discussion of sources, and ends with a bibliography.

SEPHARDIC STUDIES: A RESEARCH BIBLIOGRAPHY, INCORPORATING JUDEZMO LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND FOLKLORE, AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND, by David M. Bunis (New York & London: Garland Publishing, 1981). xix + 234 pp., \$135.00 clothcovers. This bibliography of works on Sephardic Jewry is divided into general works; Judezmo language; Judezmo literature; Judezmo folklore and folklife; and historical background. The section on folklore and folklife includes subsections on folksong, folk music, and ballads--both published and recorded. A few items refer to 78-rpm commercial recordings from the 1920s through the 1940s; and also to later LP recordings, both commercial and "field."

FOLK SONGS, collected by Ralph Vaughan Williams, edited by Roy Palmer (London: Dent & Sons, 1983) xxii + 209 pp., clothcovers, \$21.95. A collection of 121 songs gathered in the English countryside by Vaughan Williams in the early 1900s. Palmer's long introduction discusses Vaughan Williams's collecting activities between 1903 and 1913. He provides excellent headnotes to each song, placing it in historical and folkloric context. Sources and notes for each song are gathered at the end of the volume. The songs are arranged by the county in which they were collected.

SINGIN' TEXAS, by Francis Edward Abernethy (Dallas: E-Heart Press, 1983). xviii + 183 pp., 8 1/2" x 11"; \$29.95 clothcovers; \$19.95 papercovers. A compilation of ninety songs collected by the author in Texas, with texts, tunes (transcribed by Dan Beaty), notes and background. The tone tends more toward the informal than the scholarly, although the author is not indifferent to nor unaware of the scholarly approach to the music. A cassette recording, featuring the voice and guitar of the author, presents a sampling of the songs with spoken commentary by Abernethy.

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The means of providing such education include, but are not limited to, compiling, publishing and distributing discographical, bibliographical, biographical, and historical material as well as critical analysis; reprinting, with permission, pertinent articles, and reissuing historically significant out-of-print sound recordings; cooperating with sister research, educational, and archival organizations on developments in traditional and vernacular music; and informing the public on all aspects of such music, with particular emphasis on this music's cultural meaning and value in defining American experience.

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Little Jimmy Dickens outside his Brentwood, Tennessee, home, 1982
(photo courtesy, Jimmy Dickens)

THE LONG ROAD FROM WEST VIRGINIA TO THE COUNTRY HALL OF FAME:

THE CAREER OF LITTLE JIMMY DICKENS

by

Ivan M. Tribe

Ivan M. Tribe teaches History at Rio Grande College in Rio Grande, Ohio. He has written numerous articles on country music in the Appalachian Mountains. He will soon be having a book published on country music in West Virginia

On 10 October 1983, James Cecil Dickens became the first West Virginian to be inducted into the prestigious Country Music Hall of Fame. When the awarding was announced on network television, millions of Americans saw a humble man, small in physical stature but big in many other ways, win the highest honor his profession could bestow. Probably only a small portion of the audience realized that it had taken Dickens nearly forty-five years of hard persistence to reach that goal. For Little Jimmy Dickens the Hall of Fame came the hard way.

Born in the coal camp of Bolt in Raleigh County on 19 December 1920, Dickens became interested in music at an early age. He recalls listening to many old 78-rpm records by such pioneer artists as the Carter Family, Jimmie Rodgers, Gene Autry and Jimmie Long, and Mainer's Mountaineers. When he began attending Trap Hill High School in Surveyor, he and friends, like Orville and Ralph Terry and Harold Denison, entertained at school assemblies. On radio Jimmy listened to such musicians on the local station WHIS Bluefield as Joe Woods's Harmony Boys and the Lilly Mountaineers. Even then he decided that he wanted to be a professional entertainer.

As a teenager Dickens also manifested a considerable interest in sports. He played on the high school basketball team and by his own recollection was "pretty good for my size," adding that he got "fouled a lot." As a baseball player, Jim handled himself fairly well as shortstop. For him the name of his position also constituted a description because Little Jimmy Dickens stood only four feet six inches tall and weighed but ninety-five pounds when he reached voting age. Oddly enough, heredity apparently had little bearing on his size since his parents, two brothers, and two sisters all attained normal height.

Entertainment opportunity knocked for Jimmy in March 1939 when radio station WJLS took to the airwaves. A local group in Bolt, the Acord Twins, obtained a program and Jimmy's uncle Finley worked in their band. The youth occasionally got to sing a song or two on their show and hung around the station seeking openings with other musical groups.

To put Dickens's early radio experience at WJLS into perspective, one might add that numerous young musicians came to Beckley in the first

year or so of that station's operation. What is even more remarkable is that several of them went on to obtain considerable stature in the world of country music. Everett and Bea, the youthful Lilly Brothers from rural Clear Creek, perfected a harmony duet of the older style, introduced bluegrass to New England and Ivy League audiences, and eventually made two triumphant tours of Japan. Speedy Krise, a young Dobro picker from Hinton, later introduced that instrument into bluegrass, played it on some historic record sessions, and wrote many hit songs for artists like Roy Acuff, Carl Butler, Carl Smith, and Mac Wiseman. Perry and Ruby Scott, a young married couple working under the name Scotty and Tar Heel Ruby, would be radio favorites at WWYO Pineville for many years, recording on the Folk Star and Rich-R-Tone labels. Judie and Julie Jones, two sisters from Mullins, eventually recorded for RCA Victor and worked at such 50,000-watt stations as WLS Chicago and WLW Cincinnati. Walter and Johnnie Bailes, two brothers from Charleston who began their careers working separately, subsequently joined forces and became one of the great country duets of the forties, were the first West Virginians to star on the "Grand Ole Opry," and recorded numerous country classics for Columbia and King. "Dixie Lee" Williamson later became more famous as "Molly O'Day" with hit recordings on Columbia like "Tramp On the Street" and "Teardrops Falling in the Snow." At the time, she and her brother Fiddling Skeets Williamson (recently deceased) worked with Johnnie Bailes. Charles "Rex" Parker, later working with his wife, Eleanor, became virtual institutions in southern West Virginia with their country and gospel music programs on both radio and television at WHIS Bluefield and WOAY Oak Hill. If these were not enough, a young grocer named Bob Byrd sometimes fiddled a tune or two around the WJLS studio and eventually achieved fame not only as a fiddler but also in politics and public office. Finally, a diminutive guy called Little Jimmy Dickens picked and sang his way to the Country Music Hall of Fame.

However, back in 1939 and 1940 folks lacked the contemporary advantage of hindsight. Eventually, Jimmy Dickens landed a regular job of sorts in the band of Mel Steele. Although virtually forgotten today, Steele, of Pennsylvania birth and thirty-three at the time, was a re-

spected veteran musician and country band leader. Jimmy recalls that he always kept good musicians in his group like fiddlers Virgil Alfrey and Howard Adkins and his wife "Blue Eyed Jeannie" who played bass. Steele helped break the youthful Dickens into the world of show business. Jimmy affectionately called him "Pappy" and retained a great deal of gratitude toward him until Steele's death in June 1983.

An illustration of the feelings Dickens for his original mentor was related some years ago by champion Ohio fiddler Kenny Sidle. In the early 1960s Steele and Sidle worked in the same machine shop together and, according to Sidle, fellow workers laughed and jeered when Steele related that he had given "Grand Ole Opry" star Little Jimmy Dickens one of his first musical jobs. However, one day Dickens came into the shop, gave Steele a friendly hug, called him "Pappy," and reminisced with him briefly. After that, Sidle reported that the scoffers became believers. Steele later lost his eyesight, but sometimes sang hymns at churches in the Pomeroy, Ohio/Pt. Pleasant, West Virginia area. Dickens recalls that Mel came to one of his concerts in the late sixties and that the two old pals talked for a long time about the good old days.

After playing in Mel Steele's band, Jimmy worked with the aspiring threesome of Johnnie Bailes, Skeets Williamson, and Dixie Lee. Bailes, who emceed, recollected years later that he often introduced Dickens by such names as "Jimmy the Kid" and the "Singing Midget." One of the more popular stories about the youthful Dickens in those days was that he walked several miles to the station each morning and did a crowing rooster imitation when the station would come on the air.

In the fall of 1940 Jimmy left Beckley to attend West Virginia University. Academics, however, soon had to compete with music and the latter won. Only a few miles south of Morgantown, the studios of radio station WMMN Fairmont with its "5000 watts of friendship" sent about six hours of live country music daily to thousands of listeners throughout the entire Monongahela Valley and even beyond. Most of the musicians at Beckley had been ambitious youngsters whose fame had yet to be attained. Some of the Fairmont artists, while hardly stars in the modern sense of the word, had become established artists. These included such individuals as Cowboy Loye (who died under tragic circumstances in March 1941), Grandpa Jones, Buddy Starcher, Blaine Smith, and Lee and Juanita Moore. Another musician who came to WMMN was Mel Steele. Jimmy Dickens joined his group again and his determination to make it in the entertainment world soon outweighed his interest in a college education.

Lee Moore recalls the entertainers at WMMN radio as a rather happy group who organized a baseball team that included himself, future WCHS TV star Sleepy Jeffers, and Dickens (as short-stop). Other team members were the three youthful Franklin Brothers, and as pitcher T. Texas Tyler (split from Slim Clere), who had recently

arrived from Huntington. The WMMN nine especially enjoyed their victory over a team made up of journalists from the Fairmont newspapers. The tall Tyler and the short Dickens got better acquainted and soon became associated musically.

In the summer of 1942, Tyler went to WIBC Indianapolis. After about a month he asked Dickens to join him and Jim accepted. Tyler had a charismatic manner of projecting himself to an audience. Little Jimmy gives Tyler a great deal of credit for teaching him about showmanship and personality projection. For the next year each man did a half-hour show daily, followed by a half-hour together. The latter was an all-hymn program. In those early days the Dickens repertoire contained more sacred songs and ballads than anything else. He did few of the humorous novelty numbers for which he would later become famous.

Jimmy picked up his signature song, "Take an Old Cold Tater and Wait," while at WIBC. He learned the song from a banjo picker named Sonny Grubb. Only after the song had been recorded and achieved hit status did Dickens learn of its history as an atypical composition of the Arkansas hymn writer E. M. Bartlett and its subsequent ownership by Albert E. Brumley and Sons. Whatever its origins, the song appeared "tailor-made" for Jimmy Dickens. With its reference to a runt kid being kept away from a full dinner table when company was present and his resulting "puny ways," the song seemed like Little Jimmy's autobiography.

Although when Jimmy Dickens left Fairmont in 1942, it would mark his exodus from his native state as a home base, his West Virginia connections always remained strong. At WIBC, Mountain Staters constituted a high portion of the entertainers. Wilma Lee and Stonewall Cooper headquartered there for a time. T. Texas Tyler had married a Huntington girl and worked extensively at WCHS, WSAZ, and WMMN (he would be buried in Huntington in 1972), and Hugh Cross had spent four years at the WVVA "Jamboree." Buddy Starcher had worked there earlier.

In 1943 T. Texas Tyler entered military service and Jimmy stayed on, working totally as a solo act on his daily shows and on the WIBC Barn Dance. Early in 1945, he moved to WLW Cincinnati where he worked both on daily programs such as the "Top O' the Morning Show" and the "Saturday Night Boone County Jamboree" which changed its name to the "Midwestern Hayride" during his tenure there. Since WLW was an exceptionally powerful station he received a great deal more radio exposure than ever before. He also played more personal appearances and to larger crowds than before. Entertainers from WLW had tremendous drawing power at county fairs throughout the Midwest and helped to make Little Jimmy Dickens a household name to the tens of thousands of Midwestern farm and factory families who listened to "the Nation's Station." Nicola and Rose Fantetti wrote in their "Behind the Scenes" column in the *National Hillbilly*

News for July 1945, "Jimmie's a wee bit of a fellow...but with a big voice who really gives the folks their money's worth." This description proved to be one that fitted not only his style of 1945, but his whole career.

Jimmy Dickens moved to WIBW Topeka, Kansas, in 1945. As a country musician moved westward, reliance upon one's capacity to draw mail became even more of a necessity as the number of opportunities for personal appearances decreased. Jimmy's radio earnings in Indianapolis and Cincinnati rested upon the so-called PI (per-inquiry) system. Products that advertised on the artists' programs paid them a percentage based on the number of letters received. Premiums sold for a small fee and a box top provided an incentive to stimulate both mail and product sales. Like Buddy Starcher, Harmie Smith, Cherokee Sue, Doc Williams, and other West Virginia radio artists whose careers thrived via this system, Little Jimmy Dickens had to become an expert salesman as well as a talented musician. An individual who did well with a certain product would often retain the same sponsor wherever he went. Sunway Vitamins and Coco-Wheats generally employed Dickens at his various locales. With Kansas having a more scattered population, Jimmy had to sell a lot of vitamins and cereal whenever he stepped before that microphone and broke into his then familiar theme song of "Keep On the Sunny Side" in order to maintain his income. He did work some fairs in the summer with the entire cast of WIBW's "Kansas Roundup," but there were decidedly fewer showdates in Topeka than in Indiana, Ohio, or West Virginia.

After a year in Kansas, Jimmy moved east again to the relatively new station WKNX in Saginaw, Michigan. In the summer of 1948 he met Roy Acuff, then the ranking country superstar who took an immediate liking to the diminutive vocalist with a powerful voice that bore some similarity to his own. Roy not only got him some guest spots on the "Grand Ole Opry," but introduced Dickens to Art Satherly of Columbia Records. Opry officials and Satherly all found Little Jimmy's style quite appealing. On 16 September 1948 he signed a one-year contract with Columbia to do six sides. His initial session on 16 January 1949 resulted in the all-time hit "Take an Old Cold Tater and Wait" backed with a heart song, "Pennies for Papa." He also became a regular member of the "Grand Ole Opry" early in 1949. The "Old Cold Tater" proved to be only the first of a long string of hits for Dickens on Columbia. He remained with that label for seventeen years, specializing in comic novelty numbers like "Country Boy," "Hillbilly Fever," "Sleepin' at the Foot of the Bed," "I'm Little But I'm Loud," "Out Behind the Barn," and his biggest seller of all, "May the Bird of Paradise Fly Up Your Nose." Several of these numbers helped establish a one-time Georgia fiddler named Boudleaux Bryant as a top Nashville songwriter.

Although Dickens wrote relatively few of his better-known songs, many did indeed seem

virtually made to order for him. Like the "Old Cold Tater," lyrics such as those found in "I'm Little But I'm Loud," "Sleepin' at the Foot of the Bed," "Sidemeat and Cabbage," "Cornbread and Buttermilk," "Bessie the Heifer," and "The Galvanized Washing Tub" could be rendered with both dry humor and realism by Little Jimmy Dickens who proclaimed with pride that he had been reared in the backwoods of West Virginia during the Great Depression. Those millions of Americans who sprang from similar rural, small-town, and working-class backgrounds had no trouble identifying with the people in his songs. If, like the narrator of "The Galvanized Washing Tub," you had experienced "that cold steel touch on your back" when taking your weekly bath in the winter, it was not likely you would forget it.

Through the early fifties, Little Jimmy Dickens maintained a busy schedule of personal appearances all over the country on weekdays and working the "Grand Ole Opry" nearly every Saturday night. His string of hits made him one of the most popular figures in the business, and his dynamic stage personality helped him to maintain a large and loyal throng of fans. He also entertained American troops abroad.

Changing styles in the middle and later fifties slowed Dickens down a bit, but not much. He managed to accommodate somewhat to the rockabilly sound with songs like "Rockin' With Red," "Salty Boogie," "Blackeyed Joe's," and "I Got a Hole in My Pocket." He also had guaranteed work with the package touring unit known as the Phillip Morris Caravan, although that necessitated his severing connections with the "Grand Ole Opry" (he rejoined the Opry again in the late 1970s).

In 1962 he bounced back with a major hit, "A Violet and a Rose," a heart song written by Mel Tillis. In a sense this number seemed a bit uncharacteristic for Dickens, but in another way it was not because his recordings generally paired slower, serious ballads with novelty songs. However, the latter had usually attracted more attention. This was the case again in 1965 when "May the Bird of Paradise Fly Up Your Nose" attained number one on the country charts and even reached number fifteen on *Billboard's* "top pop" listings. This little piece of novelty nonsense, written by a Texas songwriter named Neal Merritt, surpassed even Dickens's earlier songs in commercial success. He followed it up with a series of similar numbers that achieved moderate success of which the satirical "Country Music Lover" probably ranked as the most memorable.

In 1967 Little Jimmy Dickens switched to Decca Records, waxing three albums, several singles, and three minor hits--How to Catch an African Skeeter Alive," "When You're Seventeen," and "Raggedy Ann." He moved to United Artists in 1971 and scored again with "Everyday Family Man" and "Try It, You'll Like It." As the

decade passed, Jim did a few singles for the independent Little Gem label, rewaxed his bigger hits for Gusto, recorded a gospel album with the Blue Ridge Quartet, and eventually returned to his original firm, Columbia.

Tragedy struck the Dickens household on New Year's Day 1968 when Little Jimmy's wife Ernestine died in an auto crash. Fortunately, daughter Pamela Jean survived. In 1971, Jim remarried and he and wife Mona have a fine suburban home in Brentwood, Tennessee.

Through the years Little Jimmy Dickens accumulated numerous accomplishments. In the spring of 1964 he became the first country singer to go around the world in a single tour. After "Bird of Paradise" hit the top, he guested on numerous network variety shows. In recent years, he has often appeared in package concerts with contemporary country superstar Merle Haggard. When not on the road, he remains one of the more popular personalities on the "Grand Ole Opry," often referring to himself humorously as "Mighty Mouse in Pajamas." This description was allegedly coined some years ago by June Carter Cash.

Although nominated often for the Country Music Hall of Fame in recent years, the stage was set for Little Jimmy Dickens's entry in October 1982. Marty Robbins received the honor that year and graciously accepted with a statement that others were more deserving than he. In the next few days he elaborated a bit on his thoughts, specifically citing Little Jimmy Dickens. Back in 1951 when Robbins appeared on local television in Phoenix, Arizona, Jim had guested on his program and got a positive impression of the young Arizona cowboy singer. Subsequently Dickens helped Robbins get a contract with Columbia Records which in turn led to his entry at the "Grand Ole Opry" and the Nashville establishment. Robbins remained forever grateful and his death on 8 December 1982 likely had some influence on making Dickens a sentimental favorite for 1983 selection.

Throughout his years of commercial success, however, Little Jimmy Dickens remains very much the plain, simple country boy from Raleigh County, West Virginia. When not working in the music industry, he enjoys working around the house or yard, sometimes with neighbor Carl Smith, an East Tennessean who came to Nashville prominence in the same era as he. He also fishes and participates in bass fishing tournaments.

When it comes to music Jim tends to have the highest praise for those who climbed the ladder in his own generation. Predecessors like Ernest Tubb and his own mentor Roy Acuff have a special place. So, too, do such West Virginia contemporaries as Molly O'Day, Hawkshaw Hawkins, the Bailes and Lilly Brothers, Rex and Eleanor Parker, and the Kentuckian Hylo Brown who sang his first notes into a radio microphone at WLOG Logan shortly after Jimmy did his debut at WJLS. Another traditionalist from the Big Sandy country, Ricky Skaggs, rates highly with Dickens among younger stars.

Little Jimmy Dickens himself credits much of his long-lasting fan retention to not placing himself above his audience. He maintains the same natural friendliness offstage as well as on, and also in private. After his selection to the Hall of Fame, a lady in Illinois wrote to *Music City News*, "I have...heard him and praised him since he started singing for WIBC in Indianapolis." She further recalled, "He has always had a number one spot in my heart for these 40 odd years" and "took time off... during the Vietnam War to talk to a very lonely airman, my son." She concluded that "he is a champ from the word go." In retrospect, that seems a fitting tribute to "Ma Dickens little tater eatin' boy from West Virginia" who has spread the sounds of his Mountain State heritage around the globe.

--Rio Grande College
Rio Grande, Ohio

Acknowledgements: In preparing this article, I would like to express my appreciation to Little Jimmy Dickens and wife Mona for their interview of 4 March 1983, and to Earl Northrup and John Morris in their search for photographs.

A PRELIMINARY JIMMY DICKENS DISCOGRAPHY

by

Ivan M. Tribe

COLUMBIA

16 January 1949 Nashville, Tennessee		
40406	Take an Old Cold Tater (And Wait)	20548, B-2813, 4-33061, CL-1047, HL-7311, CL-1408, CS-8777, CL-2551, CS-9351, LE 10106, FC 23905, 38905, P8-15640, HL-7420, HS-11220
40407	Pennies for Papa	20548
40408	Crazy Worried Mind	unissued
40409	Golden Haired Darling	unissued
11 April 1949 Nashville, Tennessee		
40685	Country Boy	20585, B-2813, CL-1047, B-2813
40686	I'm Fading Fast With the Time	20585
40687	I'll Be Back A-Sunday	20598, FC 38905
40688	My Heart's Bouquet	20598, HL-7311
14 July 1949 Hollywood, California		
HCO-3841	I'm in Love Up to My Ears	unissued
HCO-3842	A Rose From the Bride's Bouquet	unissued
HCO-3843	Beautiful Morning Glory	unissued
HCO-3844	Lovin' Lies	unissued
14 October 1949 Nashville, Tennessee		
41818	A Rose From the Bride's Bouquet	20663, 2-472
41819	Lovin' Lies	20662, 2-472
41820	Sleepin' At the Foot of the Bed	20644, HL-7311, B-2813, CL-2551, CS-9351, 4-33061, LE-10106, CL-1408, CS-8777, CL-1047
41821	Sign By the Highway	20835
41822	Be Careful of the Stones That You Throw	HL-7311
41823	I'm In Love Up to My Ears	20644, HL-7420, HS-11220
9 February 1950 Nashville, Tennessee		
42853	Then I Had to Turn Around and Get Married	20677, 2-563
42854	If it Ain't One Thing it's Another	20692, HL-7420, HS-11220, 2-625
42855	F-O-O-L-I-S-H M-E ME	20692, 2-625
42856	Hillbilly Fever	20677, HL-7311, 2-563, Epic 37984
10 May 1950 Nashville, Tennessee		
43280	Walk Chicken Walk (Cause You're Too Fat to Fly)	20722, HL-7420, HS-11220, 2-711
43281	Just When I Needed You	20722, 2-711

6 August 1950	Hollywood, California	
RHCO-4219	When the Love Bug Bites You	20744, 2-797
RHCO-4220	Waitin' For the Tide to Change	unissued
RHCO-4221	Cold Feet	20786, HL-7420, HS-11220
RHCO-4222	Out of Business	2-744, HL-7420, HS-11220, 2-797
3 November 1950	Hollywood, California	
RHCO-4314	Bessie the Heifer	20786, HL-7420, HS-11220
RHCO-4315	Lola Lee	20930
RHCO-4316	I'm Little But I'm Loud	20769, CL-1047, B-2813,
		FC-38905, B-10471
RHCO-4317	The Bible on the Table and the Flag Upon the Wall	20769
1 March 1951	Nashville, Tennessee	
45523	What About You	20809
45524	The Galvanized Washing Tub	20835, HL-7420, HS-11220
45525	They Turned Up Their Nose	unissued
45526	It May Be Silly (But Ain't it Fun)	20809, HL-7420, HS-11220,
		FC-38905
12 July 1951	Nashville, Tennessee	
46484	I Wish You Didn't Love Me So Much	20896, FC-38905
46485	Bring Your Broken Heart to Me	20896
46486	I Sure Would Like to Sit a Spell With You	unissued
46487	On a Sea of Broken Dreams	unissued
13 July 1951	Nashville, Tennessee	
46494	Poor Little Darlin'	20866
46495	They Don't Know Nothin' At All	20976
46496	I've Just Got to See You Once More	20866
25 January 1952	Nashville, Tennessee	
47629	They Locked God Outside the Iron Curtain	20905
47630	Brother, Do You Take Time to Pray	20905, HL-7326
47631	Hot Diggity Dog	20930
47632	Waitress Waitress	20976, HL-7420, HS-11220
10 April 1952	Nashville, Tennessee	
47796	No Tears in Heaven	21033, HL-9025, H-4-21,
		B-2824, HL-7326
47797	He Spoke Not a Word	21033, HL-9025, H-4-21,
		HL-7326
47798	That Little Old Country Church House	21203, HL-9025, H-4-21,
		HL-7326
47799	Take Up Thy Cross	20987, HL-9025, H-4-21,
		HL-7326
47800	Just a Closer Walk With Thee	20987, B-2824, HL-9025,
		H-4-21, HL-7326
47801	The Old Country Preacher	21203, HL-9025, H-4-21,
		HL-7326
47802	Take My Hand Precious Lord	21068, B-2824, HL-9025,
		H-4-21, HL-7326
47803	I Shall Not Be Moved	21068, HL-9025, H-4-21,
		HL-7326
19 September 1952	Nashville, Tennessee	
48384	Wedding Bell Waltz	21038
48385	You Don't Have Love At All	21038
48386	I'm Gettin' Nowhere Fast	unissued
48387	Love Must be Catching	unissued

20 February 1953 Nashville, Tennessee		
49054	Thick and Thin	21158
49055	Teardrops (Fell Like Raindrops)	21093
49056	Sidemeat and Cabbage	21093
49057	Forever is Too Lost to be Alone	21159
49058	Would You Mind	unissued
2 June 1953 Nashville, Tennessee		
49481	I'll Dance at Your Wedding (If You'll Marry Me)	21132
49482	I'm Making Love to a Stranger	21132
49491	Barefooted Little Cowboy	21167
49492	No Place Like Home on Christmas	21167
10 December 1953 Nashville, Tennessee		
50524	Rockin' With Red	21206, Epic 37618
50525	You All Come	21206, CL-2551, CS-9551, LE-10106
22 January 1954 Nashville, Tennessee		
50771	Out Behind the Barn	21247, B-2807, CL-1047, FC-38905
50772	Love Song of the Bayou	21216
50773	You Better Not Do That	21216
50774	Closing Time	21247, B-2807
12 May 1954 Nashville, Tennessee		
51506	Slow Suicide	FC-38905
51507	Take Me As I Am (Or Let Me Go)	21296
51508	Where's Willie?	HL-7311
51509	Blackeyed Joe's	21296
51510	A Ribbon and a Rose	21384
30 October 1954 Nashville, Tennessee		
52687	Stinky Passed the Hat Around	21341
52688	Salty Boogie	21384, FC-38905
52689	Conscience (Set Me Free)	21341
2 My 1955 Nashville, Tennessee		
53376	We Could	21434, CL-1047
53377	Hey Worm! (You Wanna Wiggle)	21491
53378	Where Did the Sunshine Go?	21491
23 May 1955 Nashville, Tennessee		
53413	I'm Braver Now	21464
53414	Are You Insured Beyond the Grave	21464
53415	When They Get Too Rough (They're Just Right For Me)	21434
9 January 1956 Nashville, Tennessee		
54460	I Feel For You (But I Can't Quite Reach You)	unissued
54461	Big Sandy	21515
54462	It Scares Me Half to Death	21515
54463	You Gotta Have a Heartbreak	unissued
54464	Red Wing*	21551, CL-1047
54465	Country Boy Bounce*	40810
54466	Buddy's Boogie*	40810
54467	Raisin' the Dickens*	40810, CL-1047
*Instrumental featuring Dickens's band, The Country Boys		
15 August 1956 Nashville, Tennessee		
56849	I Never Thought it Would Happen to Me	21555
56850	Say it Now	40801
56851	I'm Coming Over Tonight	40801
56852	Cornbread and Buttermilk	21555, HL-7311

11 January 1957	Nashville, Tennessee	
57210	I Don't Love You Anymore	unissued
57211	Happy Heartaches	unissued
57212	The Last Time	FC-38905
57213	Let's Quit Before We Start	unissued
4 March 1957	Nashville, Tennessee	
57610	Making the Rounds	40961
57611	I Never Had the Blues	40890
57612	Happy Heartaches	40890
57613	Let's Quit Before We Start	40961
18 June 1957	Nashville, Tennessee	
58445	Wabash Cannon Ball	10471, CL-1047, HL-7311
58446	I Can't Help It (If I'm Still In Love With You)	10471, CL-1047
58447	Jambalaya	HL-7265, HL-7311, CL-1047
58448	The Tramp on the Street	CL-1047, FC-38905
30 October 1957	Nashville, Tennessee	
59159	Family Reunion	41079
59160	Goodbye	unissued
59161	Whatever You Were	41079
16 April 1958	Nashville, Tennessee	
60818	Recipe for the Blues	unissued
60819	(I Got) A Hole In My Picket	41173, HL-7311, Epic 37621
60820	Darling My Darling	unissued
60821	Me and My Big Loud Mouth	41173
28 January 1959	Nashville, Tennessee	
62215	Country Ways and City Ideas	41436
62216	Hannah	41436
62217	When Your House is Not a Home	41340
62218	The Honeymoon is Over	41340
30 October 1959	Nashville, Tennessee	
63778	Hey Ma! (Hide the Daughter)	41529
63779	We Lived it Up (Now We've Got to Live it Down)	41670
63780	Hot Tears	41529
31 March 1960	Nashville, Tennessee	
64866	I'm Just Blue Enough (To Do Most Anything)	unissued
64867	We Could	CL-1545, CS-8345
64868	Alone With God	HL-7326
28 April 1960	Nashville, Tennessee	
64900	Careless Darlin'	CL-1545, CS-8345
64901	Fire Ball Mail	41916, CL-1545, CS-8345, CL-2551, CS-9551
64902	I Cried Again	CL-1545, CS-8345
64903	Tomorrow Never Comes	CL-1545, CS-8345
64904	John Henry	41916, CL-1545, CS-8345 HL-7362, FC-38905
64905	Have I Told You Lately that I Love You?	CL-1545, CS-8345
64906	Tomorrow's Just Another Day to Cry	CL-1545, CS-8345
64907	A Petal from a Faded Rose	CL-1545, CS-8345
64908	Singing Waterfall	CL-1545, CS-8345
64909	Pins and Needles	CL-1545, CS-8345
64910	My Heart's Bouquet	CL-1545, CS-8345

2 February 1961 Nashville, Tennessee		
66310	Talking to the Wall	42013
66311	Eight More Miles	42278
66312	Farewell Party	42013
66313	Twenty Cigarettes	42278, CL-1887, CS-8687
7 November 1961 Nashville, Tennessee		
68863	It's Me that Hurts the Most	CL-1887, CS-8687
68864	Honky Tonk Troubles	42485, CL-1887, CS8687, CL-2442
		CS-9242
68865	The Whole World Seems Different	CL-1887, CS-8687
8 November 1961 Nashville, Tennessee		
68857	String Eraser and Blotter	CL-1887, CS-8687
68858	Before I Met You	CL-1887, CS-8687
68859	The Best Years of Your Life	CL-1887, CS-8687
68860	Slowly	CL-1887, CS-8687
68861	Out Behind the Barn	CL-1887, CS-8687, CL-2551,
		CS-9551, LE-10106
68862	I'm Making Love to a Stranger	CL-1187, CS-8687
20 November 1961 Nashville, Tennessee		
68937	Night Train to Memphis	CL-2551, CS-9551, LE-10106,
		CL-2590, CS-9390
68938	The Violet and a Rose	42485
68939	Out Behind the Barn	CL-2551, CS-9551
29 November 1962 Nashville, Tennessee		
77401	Running in to Memories of You	42663, CL-2081, CS-8881
77402	Sorrow's Tearing Down the House (That Happiness Once Built)	CL-2288, CS-9088
77403	Police Police	42663, CS-9648, LE-10107
4 June 1963 Nashville, Tennessee		
78889	Another Bridge to Burn	42845, CL-2288, CS-9088
78890	I Ain't Comin' Home Tonight	42845
78891	I'll Sit This One Out	43123, CL-2288, CS-9088
31 March 1964 Nashville, Tennessee		
80250	Is Goodbye that Easy to Say	43123, CL--288, CS-9088
80251	I Leaned Over Backwards for You	43040
80252	Too Many Irons in the Fire	43040
2 September 1964 Nashville, Tennessee		
80716	Watching the Fire Go Down	43243, CL-2288, CS-9088
80717	He Stands Real Tall	CL-2288, CS-9088
80718	Stepping Stone	CL-2288, CS-9088
3 September 1964 Nashville, Tennessee		
80719	She's Not Forgotten Yet	CL-2288, CS-9088
80720	Things Have Gone to Pieces	CL-2288, CS-9088
80721	Life Turned Her that Way	43243, CL-2288, CS-9088
80722	Handle With Care	CL-2288, CS-9088
3 March 1965 Nashville, Tennessee		
82604	I Can't Get Over Me (Not Gettin' Over You)	CL-2442, CS-9242
82605	He Knocked Me Right Out of the Box	CL-2442, CS-9242, CL-2551,
		CS-9551, LE-10106
82606	Collection of Failures	CL-2442, CS-9242
82607	The Back Of My Hand	CL-2442, CS-9242

4 March 1965 Nashville, Tennessee		
82608	Twice the Fool	CL-2442, CS-9242
82609	May the Bird of Paradise Fly Up Your Nose	43388, CL-2442, CS-9242, CL-2551, CS-9551, LE-10106
82610	Call Him Me	CL-2442, CS-9242
82611	My Eyes are Jealous	43388, CL-2442, CS-9242
10 March 1965 Nashville, Tennessee		
82629	Half-Way Loved	CL-2442, CS-9242
82630	Little Jack Daniel	unissued
82631	Make Me an Offer	CL-2442, CS-9242
82632	A Rose from the Bride's Bouquet	CL-2442, CS-9242
14 December 1965 Nashville, Tennessee		
83055	When the Ship Hit the Sand	43514, CL-2551, CS-9551, LE-10106
15 December 1965 Nashville, Tennessee		
83056	Where the Buffalo Trud	43804, CS-9648, LE-10107
83057	My Baby Takes Good Care of Me	unissued
83058	Jenny Needs a G String (For Her Old Guitar)	CS-9648, LE-10107
83059	Truck Load of Starvin' Kangaroos	43514, CL-2551, CS-9551, LE-10106
83060	Possum Holler	CS-9648, LE-10107
83061	Butter Beans	43804
83062	Where There's a Will	CS-9648, LE-10107
27 April 1966 Nashville, Tennessee		
83421	Who Licked the Red Off Your Candy	43701, CS-9648, LE-10107
83422	You Don't Have Time for Me	43701
83423	September Memories	unissued
28 April 1966 Nashville, Tennessee		
83424	Doggone Dog	unissued
83425	Stop Your Eyes	unissued
83426	I Just had a Bar of Soap	CS-9648, LE-10107
31 August 1966 Nashville, Tennessee		
80402	You've Destroyed Me	44025
80403	Big John Don't Forget Your Hat	CS-9648, LE-10107
80404	All Down Your Cheeks	unissued
80405	Your Little Red Ridding Hood (Will be Black and Blue)	CS-9648, LE-10107
1 September 1966 Nashville, Tennessee		
80406	One Foot in the Grave	unissued
80407	Country Music Lover	44025, CS-9648, LE-10107

DECCA

25 July 1967 Nashville, Tennessee		
119248	Daddy and the Wine	32187, DL-4967, DL-74967
119249	I Came So Close to Failure	32253, DL-4967, DL-74967
119250	It Didn't Take Me Long	DL-4967, DL-74967
119251	They're Gonna Have Me Committed	32187, DL-4967, DL-74967
26 October 1967 Nashville, Tennessee		
119536	I Love Lucy Brown	32253, DL-4967, DL-74967
119537	I Wear it Well	DL-4967, DL-74967
119538	You Wouldn't Cross the Street	DL-4967, DL-74967

21 December 1967 Nashville, Tennessee		
119740	I Can't Help It	DL-4967, DL-74967
119741	I'm So Lonesome I Could Cry	DL-4967, DL-74967
119742	When it All Comes Home to You	unissued
119743	There'll Be No Teardrops Tonite	DL-4967, DL-74967
119744	Heartbreak Avenue	DL-4967, DL-74967
3 April 1968 Nashville, Tennessee		
120176	Can You Build Your House	32326, DL-5091, DL-75091
120177	She Never Likes Nothing For Long	32426, DL-5133, DL-75133
120178	How to Catch an African Skeeter Alive	32326, DL-5091, DL-75091
120179	They've Stole My Steel Guitar	32384, DL-5091, DL-75091
30 April 1968 Nashville, Tennessee		
120277	Lonely People	DL-5091, DL-75091
120278	Tell Them I Don't Know	unissued
120279	Someday You'll Call My Name	32384, DL-5091, DL-75091
27 August 1968 Nashville, Tennessee		
120758	When You're Seventeen	32426, DL-5133, DL-75133
120759	Walking the Floor Over You	DL-5091, DL-75091
120760	Release Me	DL-5091, DL-75091
17 September 1968 Nashville, Tennessee		
120803	Making Believe	DL-5091, DL-75091
120804	When a House is Not a Home	DL-5091, DL-75091
120805	We Could	DL-5091, DL-75091
120806	Wabash Cannonball	DL-5091, DL-75091
8 April 1969 Nashville, Tennessee		
121433	A Death in the Family	32523
121434	A Ribbon and a Rose	DL-5133, DL-75133
121435	Country Boy	DL-5133, DL-75133
121436	Waitress, Waitress	DL-5133, DL-75133
15 April 1969 Nashville, Tennessee		
121516	Another Bridge to Burn	DL-5133, DL-75133
121517	Out Behind the Barn	DL-5133, DL-75133
121518	Take an Old Cold Tater	DL-5133, DL-75133
121519	Sleepin' at the Foot of the Bed	DL-5133, DL-75133
6 May 1969 Nashville, Tennessee		
121620	Take Me as I am or Let Me Go	DL-5133, DL-75133
121621	I'm Little but I'm Loud	DL-5133, DL-75133
21 May 1969 Nashville, Tennessee		
121673	Times are Gonna Get Better	32523
121674	That's How the World Looks	unissued
121675	The Girls in Milwaukee	unissued
17 December 1969 Nashville, Tennessee		
122328	I'd Rather Sleep in Peace	32644
122329	Little Jack Daniels	unissued
122330	Raggedy Ann	32644

UNITED ARTISTS

ca. 1970-1972

Everyday Family Man	50730
One More Time	50730

UNITED ARTISTS (continued)

Here it Comes Again	50781
?	50781
You Only Want Me For My Body	50834
What Will I Do Then	50834
Try It, You'll Like It	50889
Helpless	50889
Way Down in Alabama	50941
Someone to Care	50941

GUSTO

ca. 1978

GT-0041 The Best of the Best of Little Jimmy Dickens

Take an Old Cold Tater and Wait	May the Bird of Paradise Fly Up Your Nose
I'm Little But I'm Loud	We Could
My Heart's Bouquet	Hillbilly Fever
A Sleeping at the Foot of the Bed	Country Boy
Another Bridge to Burn	Violet and the Rose
Life Turned Her that Way	Out Behind the Barn

GT-0059 This World is Not My Home

LITTLE GEM

ca. 1974-1975

Probably four sides, titles unknown

QCA

n.d.

Gospel album with the Blue Ridge Quartet, number and titles unknown

ETHNIC COUNTRY MUSIC ON SUPERIOR'S SOUTH SHORE

by

James P. Leary

[A free-lance folklorist based in Madison, Wisconsin, James P. Leary received a Ph.D. in Folklore and American Studies from Indiana University in 1977. He has published extensively on traditional music and narrative in the rural, ethnically diverse Upper Midwest.]

American folklorists, and country music enthusiasts generally, have long been interested in the complex relationship between Southern and Western traditional rural music and its commercially recorded and broadcast offshoots: hill-billy, western swing, bluegrass, rockabilly, honky-tonk, and country. Meanwhile a small but significant body of writings has focused upon the rural traditions of Northern musicians in New York state and the Canadian maitimes.¹ Praiseworthy inasmuch as they document the unmistakable existence of "Northern country music," these studies are overwhelmingly limited to monolingual performers of Anglo-Celtic origin. Yet, as Robert Klymasz's pioneering article on Ukrainian country music demonstrates, the multi-lingual progeny of Eastern European immigrants to the Canadian prairies likewise strum guitars and don cowboy hats.² A similar phenomenon prevails along the South Shore of Lake Superior.

Today that region's most characteristic musical style is a pag-ethnic hybrid dubbed "old time" by locals. And while a precise analysis of the old time music "sound" lies beyond the scope of this paper, its major features can be readily identified. The accordion is the primary melodic instrument. Vocals tend to be relaxed, open-throated, and conversational. Performances are dominated by waltzes, polkas, and an occasional *schottische*; and these dance tunes are drawn largely from non-English-speaking ethnic sources. Even so, a significant number of "country" songs penetrate the contemporary old time repertoire. As Tom Johanik of The Polkateers put it recently:

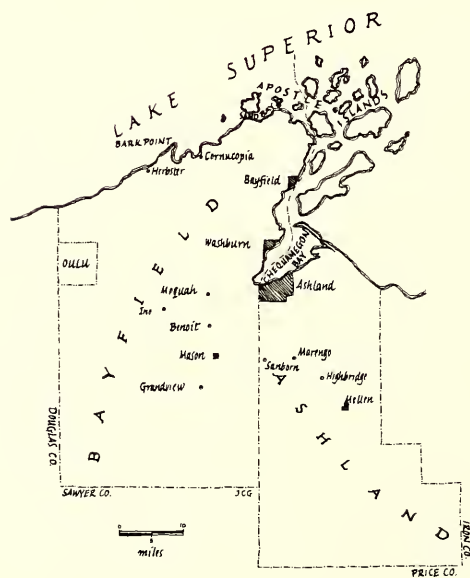
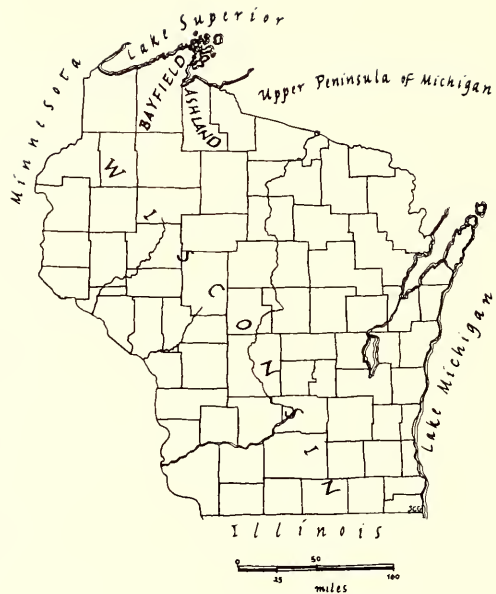
Most of what I play is old time. Like that first band I was with-- Frank [Farkas] and Tom [Marinell] and me--that was pretty much all old time...[Now] we play mostly old time. We play lotta country though...We could play country music all night if we had to; we know enough of it.⁴

The presence of country music as a subsidiary but essential element in old time music can be explained by examining the region's historical and musicological evolution.

European Americans settled along the South Shore of Lake Superior in the post-Civil War era

as Yankee entrepreneurs financed or promoted the establishment of rail and shipping lines, mines, logging camps, and, eventually, agricultural settlements on cutover acreage. Old and new immigrants alike provided cheap labor for the vast "pinery," for Houghton/Hancock's "copper country," for the iron rich Gogebic range mines at Ironwood/Hurley, for the granite and brownstone quarries of Mellen and the Bayfield peninsula, for the sawmills and loading docks of Ashland on Lake Superior's Chequamegon Bay, and for the farmsteads in stump laden hinterlands. There were Irish and assorted WASPs hailing from Canada's maritimes and America's Northeast; there were Norwegians, Swedes, Swede Finns, and Finns; there were Germans, Italians, Swiss, and numerous Slavs: Bohemians, Croations, Hungarians, Lithuanians, Poles, Serbs, and Slovaks.

Arriving singly, in the company of relatives, or amidst larger groups of fellow countrymen, immigrants tended to settle in enclaves. In the city of Ashland, for example, Swedes and Norwegians dominated the West Side, while Poles, Bohemians, a handful of Lithuanians, and Swede Finns occupied the East End. Swedes, Finns, Croations, Hungarians, and Slovaks clustered similarly in outlying villages or rural communities like Mason, Marengo, Benoit, Washburn, and Moquah. (See the two maps.) The general inclination of newcomers to live amongst people with whom they shared an Old World experience did not, however, result in ethnic insularity. In predominantly Slovak Moquah, to cite a typical case, there were also families of Bohemians, Poles, Swedes, and Finns; while a few English, Irish, and Germans dwelled on the hillsides ringing the Moquah valley. Culture contact between these diverse peoples, consequently, was present from the outset in at least four overlapping socioeconomic realms. People worked together as wage earners in the woods, the mills, and on the docks; as rural laborers bent upon clearing land and establishing homesteads, they exchanged machinery and labor; they spent their money and sold or traded their produce in the towns; and they sent their children to schools. As a result of these common activities, assorted ethnics became conversant, albeit to a limited extent, with one another's speech and customs. However, English--the language of the "host" country and, more importantly of the workplace, the towns, and the schools--



soon prevailed as the chief medium of inter-ethnic communication.

A parallel pattern characterized the region's music. Since many musicians were numbered among the early settlers along Lake Superior's South Shore, a wealth of "foreign" dance tunes and songs dominated gatherings at homes, on outdoor platforms, and in newly erected ethnic halls. Predictably, such events were not exclusive, as people from various backgrounds assembled to dance and play music. In this way a Polish button accordionist might learn a Norwegian waltz, while a Swedish fiddler could acquire a Hungarian czardas or a Finnish polka. At the same time--while keenly aware and proud of their Old World heritage, and generally tolerant of others' ethnicity--these people, especially the youthful immigrants and children of the second generation, soon played and sang many American numbers. Dubbed *English* for linguistic reasons, these songs and tunes were learned, like the English language, in the aforementioned contexts of the workplace, the urban or rural neighborhood, the town, and the school.

Besides requisite patriotic anthems and Tin Pan Alley pop, the English songs and tunes learned in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were exactly of the sort that evolved into country music in its various manifestations: Anglo-Celtic ballads, fiddle tunes, minstrel pieces, and sentimental parlor songs. It is, unfortunately, impossible at this point to offer a very detailed reconstruction of just how these interrelated genres were acquired by the Northern ethnics of sixty to one hundred years ago. Nonetheless--after more than a year's fieldwork in the region, and the perusal of newspapers and reminiscences by old timers--I have assembled enough information to provide a general account.

As numerous folklorists have demonstrated, the lumbercamp was an important locus for Anglo-Celtic song and dance tune performances.⁵ And, indeed, Franz Rickaby's *Ballads and Songs of the Shanty-Boy*--based on a 1919 trek across the northern tier of Minnesota, Wisconsin, and Michigan--attests to the presence of these forms along the South Shore of Lake Superior.⁶ Rickaby's volume understandably neglects "foreign" singers of "English" songs, but certainly there were some.

The lumber camps provided immigrants with winter employment and, if one didn't squander it in taverns and sporting houses, cash payment. Some camps were a season's home for woods-wise Scandinavians and Finns; but the late Carl Gunderson, a Rice Lake Swede and former lumbercamp cook, also worked with Irishmen on the Flambeau River north of Ladysmith. Beyond vivid memories of breaking a rival cook's arm with a rolling pin, Gunderson came away with "Paul Bunyan's Ox," a version of the hyperbolic "Derby Ram," from the singing of "an Irish jack."

As I went down to Bunyan's camp upon a snowy day,
I saw the biggest ox, sir, that ever was fed on hay.

This ox was fat behind, sir, this ox was fat all 'round.
And every foot on that old ox would cover an acre of ground.

Maybe you don't believe me, maybe you think I lie,
But go you down to Bunyan's camp and see the same as I.

The horns that grew on that ox, sir, reached up to the moon.

A man went up there in January and never got back 'til June.

The man that killed that ox, sir, was drowned in the blood.

And 40,000 other poor souls was carried away in the flood.

The hair that grew on that ox, sir, reached up to the sky.

The eagles built their nest up there, I could hear their young ones cry.

In 1914 on the Bad River, Ashland County, nineteen-year-old Bohemian-born Jerry Novak signed on with a crew of Slavs ramrodded by Yankees and Canadians. These latter fellows did plenty of bawdy singing, Jerry told me in 1979; but, perhaps because he had a houseful of sisters to greet him in the Spring, Jerry retained only a rousing and "clean" version of "The Shantyboy's Alphabet."⁸

Energetic Anglo-Celtic fiddling and vigorous dancing also prevailed in the camps. Mike McCann, a Washburn County pioneer, observed in a printed reminiscence:

Gee, if the young folks now could see some of them old lumberjacks wearing a pair of shoe packs or lumberjack rubbers before they came to swing, back off, and dance a jig before swinging! Them were really the days!⁹

McCann, a fiddler himself, was Irish; indeed, many of the lumberjack fiddlers revered by old-timers were Irish or French-Canadian--men who had learned rollicking jigs and reels as part of their cultural traditions. Until his death in the early 1930s, at roughly eighty, Irishman Ben Gilpin was the city of Washburn's most famous fiddler. According to Ed Nelson, a Scandinavian admirer, this silver-maned former timber cruiser would often fiddle from the steps of his house.¹⁰ The Donnelly boys were highly regarded in Barron County's Oak Grove township, while the "Frenchyman" Bat DeMare was famed in Washburn County.¹¹ Fellow Canadian Leizime Brusoe of Rhinelander eventually recorded tunes like "Devil's Dream," "Fisher's Hornpipe," and "Money Musk" for the Library of Congress.¹² The fiddle, however, was

also a favored dance instrument among certain Czech, Finnish, German, Polish, and Scandinavian immigrants; and many soon expanded their repertoires to include lumberjack favorites. The versatile Otto Rindlishbacher of Rice Lake (about whom more will be said later) was a Swiss German who made both simple cigar box and concert-worthy fiddles while distinguishing himself as a musician and publishing what the Rice Lake Chronotype termed "a booklet of peppy musical selections entitled *Twenty Original Reels, Jigs, and Hornpipes*."¹³

Apart from the lumber camps's male preserve, ballad singers and lumberjack fiddlers held forth at dances in the homes, the halls, and on the outdoor platforms of rural villages and nascent townships. Bill Hendrickson, a Finn, picked up the broadside ballad "Willie Taylor" from the singing of Irishman Dennis Daley.¹⁴ This fellow, who lived out his life as a bachelor in Herberster, Wisconsin, was likewise a noted fiddler.

Bill Hendrickson: Oh, he was good, I'll tell you that.

Eino Okkonen: He played square dances... alone even... And then he's get started, and he'd raise up and pretty soon he'd be standing up on a stool.

Bill Hendrickson: Yeah. The crowd got big, y'know, and so they'd hear it all around.¹⁵

Within these contexts, Anglo-Celtic fiddlers were heard by many a young musician, whatever his chosen instrument. Harmonica players and accordionists like Slovaks Phil Johanik and George Letko, Finns Einar Maki and Bill Hendrickson, and Polish-American Felix Milanowski all learned to blow or squeeze out a stepped-up version of "Red Wing," along with "Golden Slippers," "The Irish Washerwoman," and "Turkey in the Straw."

The acquisition of new dance tunes demanded the parallel learning of new dance steps. Edith Hukkala recalls her Finnish-American mother's zeal.

Oh my mother used to go squaredancing. She used to walk three or four miles when she was twelve or thirteen. She was already adult enough to go to dances. They'd walk three, four miles to High-bridge and there was a caller there. And then they'd play the violin... Well anyway, mother said that one time she came home so late from the squaredance that--her stepfather was getting up--she put the coffee on. And then she went to work in Ashland after that. See, in High-bridge there was mostly non-Finns. And they had a guy that could play concertina and they had a squaredance caller.¹⁶

In the Barksdale area, near Washburn, Vivian Eckholm Brevak grew up, amidst Swedes, Finns, Hungarians, and English Canadians. Vivian's

father, Carl, was a Swedish-born fiddler with his store of old country tunes, but many of her most vivid musical memories centered on gatherings of "all kinds of people" in the homes of the McCutcheons, the Days, or the Cooks. In keeping with the crowd's varied composition there were "lotta square dances. Schottisches though, too, and old time waltzes, and polkas. Not modern stuff, though." Her longtime neighbor and friend Netty Day Harvey chimed in, "And two-steps too. What they call polkas now, we used to call two-steps. And the broom dance, and the circle two-step." Square dances, however, were the most popular.¹⁷ According to Vivian, much of their attraction resided in their simplicity. She compared modern squaredancing with its old-time counterpart:

This newer stuff, you can change, the caller can change from time to time when you go--the caller can change to something else, a different square. Then you gotta learn that. But the old time had its own way. They probably had four or five different drills that you learned. You learned these, see, so that it was fun to do it when you came there, 'cause you knew what you were in for when you started out. Not today, I don't like that today.

In his 1973 reminiscence, octogenarian fiddler and caller Mike McCann also expressed his preference for old time square dancing.

The old time dancing they are trying to bring back now has something missing. The meter is different. The music is played by note and it hasn't got that old zip.¹⁸

Besides square dances, their tunes, and an occasional ballad, the Upper Midwest's old-timers also acquired "English" songs in school. As a young girl in Toivola, Michigan, "Jingo" Viitala recalled how,

After the bell rang and we sat down, the teacher read the roll call. Then we had fifteen or twenty minutes of singing. How we loved to sing! Picture fifty or more kids of every size, age, and shape singing Irish ballads and Scottish folk songs with a broad Finnish accent! All Finns love music, and when they sing together, they really lose themselves. We kids simply tried to drown each other out. I can imagine we were heard miles away with the doors and windows open.¹⁹

Fond of singing, Jingo and her friends copied the words of favorite songs, both Finnish and English into notebooks to be shared at informal singing sessions. This practice, paralleling the accumulation of printed broadsides and the formation of "baller books" by Southern traditional singers, was widespread in the region.²⁰ Jerry Novak similarly learned many such, in his parlance,

"school songs" including rural favorites like "The Old Gray Mare" and "Put on Your Old Gray Bonnet" as well as minstrel songs like Henry Clay Work's "In the Year of Jubilo."²¹

The latter ditty's presence in the region was not surprising given the number of minstrel shows touring the north woods in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As an important mill town on the Red Cedar River and a burgeoning agricultural trading center, Rice Lake, Wisconsin, boasted an imposing opera house where, in the Spring of 1896, the Plantation Minstrels and Slayton's Jubilee Singers performed for enthusiastic crowds.²² During that era Ashland, Wisconsin--a mill town, port, and railroad hub--likewise hosted companies like The Great Barlow's Minstrels and The Dixie Jubilee Singers.²³ That such professional presentations were not lost on audiences of varied ethnic stock is evident in an account from the *Ashland Daily Press* of "Home Talent Minstrel Night" in the hall of St. Agnes's Catholic Church. While roughly one thousand gathered, "Hilda Bloomquist recited a Negro piece," and others enacted a "tambo and bones blackface minstrel show" complete with "coon songs, which were all hits."²⁴

The evening also included an Italian and Bear act by Will Garnich and John Allo in which the "'Dago' maka de beara clima the pole to the telegraph." And indeed numerous ethnic acts, along with light opera, were common to the music hall scene. Scandinavian vaudevillians like Knute Erickson and Hjalmar Peterson, aka Olle i Skratthult, put on plays and sang humorous songs in Ashland County.²⁵ Meanwhile, entertainers like Bell's Hawaiians, Moser Brothers's, Swiss Yodelers, and the yodeling Jolly Riggi Boys toured Rice Lake.²⁶

While apparently distinct from Anglo-Celtic rural traditions, these acts nonetheless subtly influenced regional acceptance of what was evolving into the country music of today. As a *Bond-komiker*, or peasant comedian, Olle i Skratthult donned "squeaky boots, overcoat, long scarf, peasant cap with a big flower, and a blacked out tooth under straw colored wig."²⁷ In this hick get-up, spouting jokes and poems in a rural dialect, Olle made a distinct impression on Swedes like Birch Lake's Fritz Swanson, and Mason's Carl Swanson who took in the comedian's Ashland performance just after World War I. At subsequent dances, with Fritz on accordion and Carl on banjo, the latter would "clown around" and "pull all kinds of foolishness."²⁸ Such rustic antics could hardly have been unlike the hill-billy and rube routines of Anglo-Celtic country performers--as carried on today in the persons of Archie Campbell, Minnie Pearl, Junior Sample, and others.

Hawaiian troupes likewise spawned admirers and imitators. In 1925, according to the *Ashland Daily Press*, "Sixty-six girls and young women met last night at the Ashland National Bank community room to form the Ashland Girl's Hawaiian Guitar

Club."²⁹ A few years later, the eclectic Otto Rindlibbacher of Rice Lake was heading up "The Rindlibbacher Hawaiian Guitar Quartet."³⁰ Since the Hawaiian guitar inspired the steel guitar so ubiquitous in post World War II country music, it is not unlikely that touring Hawaiian bands laid the seeds for an appreciation of whining strings in the upper Midwest.

A similar argument might tentatively be raised with regard to yodeling. Beyond traveling acts like the Moser Brothers and the Riggi Boys, yodeling Swiss performers like Barron County farmer John Giezendanner were also known in the region.³¹ And while I will not push the inference, it is possible that such Alpine artists sparked a predisposition in some for the yodeling style of cowboy/rounder Jimmie Rodgers. But whatever their specific effect, it is clear that touring ethnic vaudevillians in the upper Midwest were emissaries of the extra-regional world and harbingers of developments to come. Their collective careers, which persisted until the onset of the great Depression, likewise overlapped with the technological innovations of radio and the widespread sale of authentic rural Southern phonograph records to national audiences--both of which developments accelerated Northern ethnic acceptance of emergent country music.

The phonograph industry, in existence since the 1890s had a slow but certain impact on ethnics in the upper Midwest. The old timers with whom I have spoken, universally agree that by about 1920 their families either owned phonographs or had access to a neighbor's machine. Meanwhile, the small yet probably representative collection of 78-rpm records housed in Northland College's McDowell Archives, and the several dozen private collections that I have examined, suggest that the region's listeners prized records by performers of their own ethnicity most highly, but these collections also registered Anglo-Celtic records as a significant second choice.

Early entries include dance pieces like "Miss McLeod's Reel" with "The Irish Washer-woman" by Prince's Orchestra (Columbia A-1474). While marked by full orchestral instrumentation and a high art or "professional" rendition, these discs nonetheless carried tunes which were recognizably those heard at local get-togethers. When bonafide rural performers of ballads, sentimental songs, minstrelsy, and dance tunes became available in the mid-1920s, the region's listeners snapped them up.

But radio's emergence in the 1920s was an even more significant force not only in bringing extra-regional country music to the upper Midwest, but also in presenting regionally familiar tunes to audiences--thereby offering a kind of national sanction to indigenous rural music. In 1924 WLS of Chicago began its live broadcast of the "National Barn Dance."³² Jingo Viitala Vachon recalls how radio affected youngsters in the woods of Michigan's Upper Peninsula:



Pappy Eatmore's Barn Dance Jubilee, Ironwood, Michigan, ca. 1938
(photo courtesy, John Lombardo)

WHL BROADCAST



Mr. and Mrs. Otto Rindlisbacher.

Mr. and Mrs. Otto Rindlisbacher of this city, noted accordion players, have an engagement to broadcast by radio from Minneapolis WCCO between nine and ten p. m. Saturday, September 11, but it is probable that Mrs. Rindlisbacher will be unable to take part on account of illness. Oscar Overby's music store will have a receiving set at the music store that evening, where the broadcasting of Mr. Rindlisbacher may be heard and no doubt many others with radios will want to tune in at that time.

Mr. & Mrs. Otto Rindlisbacher,
Rice Lake Chronotype, 9/1/26

PARTICIPANTS IN OLD TIME FIDDLERS CONTEST



The above picture shows a group of the oldtime fiddlers who sawed off the championship at the Legion hall, Wednesday evening last week. The picture was taken in front of Rindlisbacher's pool hall. In the front row, from left to right, are shown Frank Crotteau of Canton, Henry Dietz, champion of 1926, William Manor, 79, and the oldest fiddler; William McDonald with 70; Freeman Ritter of here and Ernest Gulbord of Reserve. In the back row may be seen W. W. Waite of Dallas, last year's champion and runner-up of third place this year; Luke Soles, who plays the bones, and Steve Spooner, this year's champion.

Participants in Old Time Fiddler's
Contest, Rice Lake Chronotype, 3/2/27



Bill Hendrickson, Herbster, Wisconsin, ca. 1930
(photo courtesy, Bill Hendrickson)



Bell's Hawaiian Review, Rice Lake Chronotype, 9/16/25

SWISS YODELERS



MOSER BROTHERS

Moser Bros. of Berne, Switzerland, will give a musical concert at the armory in Rice Lake on Tuesday, May 11. They come here by special arrangement of John Mani, who years ago came from the same canton in Switzerland. They play accordion selections as well as singing with and without accordion accompaniment. Nearly 1,000 people turned out to hear them at Monroe, Wis.

It will be a rare treat to hear the Moser Bros. Some of their best selections have been recorded by the Victor company and may be purchased in this city.

Moser Brothers, Rice Lake Chronotype, 4/28/26



Jingo Viitala Vachon, self portrait, 1982

By the time I was a teenager, mountain music had swept like wildfire through our rural community. Since we didn't have any money to go anywhere, especially during the Winter, we stayed up all hours of the night listening to radios that ran on car batteries. We got to know the Drifter from Del Rio, Texas. The Callahan Brothers from WVVA Wheeling, West Virginia, Patsy Montana, Arkansas Woodchopper, Skyland Scotty and Lulu Belle, Linda Parker and all the rest from WLS Chicago, Louise Massey and the rest from Des Moines, and of course Uncle Dave Macon the Dixie Dew Drop from Grand Old Opry! And we mustn't forget the Carter Family from WJJD Chicago. We knew them all.³⁵

In addition to spreading their music through the airwaves "Barn Dance" musicians made tours through the Upper Midwest in the 1920s and 1930s. The 8 April 1936 edition of the *Rice Lake Chronotype*, for example, reports that "The WLS Merry Go Round crew, featuring the Arkansas Woodchopper, will be at the El Lago Theater next Monday."

More importantly, touring, broadcasting, and recording hillbilly performers, gave impetus not only to the region's pre-existing Anglo-Celtic musicians, but also to youthful, second-generation ethnic-Americans. Jingo Viitala Vachon, soon the possessor of \$4,500 Sears Roebuck guitar, began to strum out "On Top of Old Smokey" (along with "Voi Emma" and "Kotilan Kulaiset Tanssi") and yodel a la Jimmie Rodgers amidst parties with her neighbors. Rice Lake, Wisconsin, meanwhile experienced a fiddling boom in 1926 and 1927. According to the *Chronotype*, on 1 January 1926 the Sampson-Stinn Motor Company hosted a dance wherein participants listened to Henry Ford's old-time fiddlers on radio, then danced while local fiddler Steve Hawkins, backed by his daughter on piano, played. On the subsequent March 24th Otto Rindlishbacher, inspired by Henry Ford's efforts to revive old-time fiddlers's contests, organized just such an event.

Many of the contestants were former lumberjacks of British, Irish, or French Canadian stock: Manor, Tallman, Ritter, Miller, Stafford, Reed; Collins, Haughian; Gabriel, Brumette, LaBrie, and Crotteau. And yet there were also Scandinavians (Moe, Severson), and Germans (Immerfall, Reckenthaler, Gaulke), and Bohemians (Bretl, Jelinek, Wilda) who participated. According to the paper's account:

The music played ranged all the way from Sailor's Hornpipe, Rocky Road to Dublin, Over the Waves, and Turkey in the Straw to classical Spanish airs played by Columbo Morrison and a little bit of jazz... Henry Dietz said he hadn't had so much fun since the hornpipe in '76. Dump Blyton and Anthony Pecore jiggled.³⁴

This event's considerable success spurred similar contests in March and November of the following years.³⁵ And, probably as a result of his Rice Lake championship in 1926, W. W. Waite--a formidable trick fiddler able to play with the instrument upside-down, behind his back, and while held between his knees--performed over Minneapolis's WCCO radio station in 1926.

As Bob Andresen's researches have pointed out, barn dances in Chicago, Des Moines, and cities further to the south and west provided a model for northern companies to follow. Minneapolis-St. Paul stations like WCCO, KSTP, and WDGJ featured programs combining "ethnic Old-Time with Country Music" from the late 1920s through the fifties.³⁶ Situated on the interstate Gogebic Iron Range, WJMS (for Johnson's Music Store) served Ironwood, Michigan, and Hurley, Wisconsin. Its programming was highlighted in the 1930s by the weekly live performance and broadcast of "Pappy Eatmore's Barn Dance Jubilee." Besides Finnish and Italian bumptin' comics, the show starred a Scandinavian girl billed as Peggy Arizona (after WLS's Patsy Montana), and Curley Bradley and His Hard Cider Boys--none other than a Slovak, two Italians, and three Finns in cowboy suits playing western and mountain music.³⁷

Beginning in the community events of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, boosted by the onslaught of commercial recordings and radio broadcasts in the twenties and thirties, country music furthered its influence on Northern ethnics in the forties and the decades to follow through increased marketing and mass media exposure. By the early 1980s the repertoires of the ethnic-American musicians whom I encountered during fieldwork included country songs from every stage of the music's existence. There were the nineteenth-century sentimental numbers, cowboy ditties, and railroad songs that characterized the early years of recorded country music: "Little Rosewood Casket," "The Letter Edged in Black," "I'll Be With You When the Roses Bloom Again," "Cowboy Jack," "The Little Sod Shanty on the Claim," "Chisholm Trail," "The Wabash Cannonball," and "Wreck of the Old 97." From the 1930s came yodels ("Muleskinner Blues," "Cattle Call"), rural tearjerkers ("Old Shep," "Beautiful Brown Eyes"), and Western Swing classics ("Under the Double Eagle," "El Rancho Grande," "Wahoo"). The 1940s provided war-tinged titles like "There's a Star Spangled Banner Waving Somewhere" and "The Soldier's Last Letter," as well as hits like "Tennessee Waltz," "Born to Lose," "Pistol Packin' Mama," "Blue Eyes Crying in the Rain," "You Are My Sunshine," and "Mockingbird Hill." Honky Tonk cheating songs dominated those retained from the 1950s ("Your Cheatin' Heart," "I Walk the Line," "Four Walls," "Pick Me Up on Your Way Down," "He'll Have to Go," "Heartaches by the Number," and "Married by the Bible/Divorced by the Law"); but Lefty Frizzell's sentimental "Mom and Dad's Waltz," Bill Carlisle's comic "I'm Too Old to Cut the Mustard," Ferlin Husky's gospel piece "Wings of

a Dove," and the nostalgically rural compositions of Stuart Hamblen ("This Ole House") and Boudleaux Bryant ("Out Behind the Barn") were also popular. Finally, the 1960s provided the region's musicians with songs of rural displacement like "Detroit City" and "Green, Green Grass of Home."

Made possible by culture contact and media accessibility, further aided by the immigrants's desires to become "American," the widespread and sustained acceptance of country music by non-Anglo-Celtic northerners also occurred for reasons which, although elusive, are of perhaps greater significance. Many old-timers told me that they were fond of country music because of its definite melodies, its avoidance of ear-shattering volume, and its danceability--qualities which they valued in their own ethnic music. On occasion, the boundaries between Anglo-Celtic and ethnic genres were even unwittingly dissolved. Vivian Brevak's favorite dance tune, which she invariably played with nuance and feeling, was "Mom and Dad's Waltz." However, she called the tune "Dad's Waltz" and, oblivious of its composition by Texan Lefty Frizzell, placed it alongside other esoterically named Scandinavian items in her repertoire: "Leonard's Waltz," "Polka Dad Used to Play," and so on.³⁸

The themes of country music also affected Northern ethnics. Boom times ceased early in this century along the South Shore of Lake Superior, and many locals moved to find work in the Pacific Northwest, or in Midwestern industrial centers like Detroit, Chicago, Milwaukee, and Minneapolis. Those who remained in what soon became an economically depressed, marginal, "backwoods" region grew accustomed to hard work, struggles with the elements, and tight-knit communities bound together by kinship, taverns, and churches. Consequently, country music's "hillbilly" preoccupations with mobility, home, rural life, labor, exuberant sociability, loneliness, and religion were shared by the Upper Midwest's "jackpine savages."

Perhaps for these reasons, Northern ethnic performers often made country songs their own. Walt Johnson, a Finnish-American vocalist, produced "half-and-half" or macaronic versions of country songs in which the English words of country standards like "You Are My Sunshine" and "Green, Green Grass of Home" alternated with Finnish translations. Jingo Viitala Vachon, meanwhile, has rendered the lyrics of many country songs wholly into Finnish--a process which, for linguistic reasons, resulted in hybrid texts neither English nor Finnish:

Y'know, it's so hard to translate it
["The Wabash Cannonball"] literally.
It's like [she sings]: Here's to Daddy
Claxton, his name forever stands/ He'll
always be remembered in the forests
throughout the land. Well here I'm
singing about "Laxton's papa" [there is
no "cl" sound in Finnish], how he'll
always be remembered. And where the

part is y'know: "His earthly race
is over, and the curtains 'round
him fall." How you gonna trans-
late that in Finnish? So I've got
it: [She says the Finnish words,
then translates back.] "A race of
life is over for him, and shadows
are falling over him." That's the
way I had it in Finnish, you can't
do it any other way.³⁹

Besides half-and-half songs and translations, Northern ethnics have also delighted in creating regional parodies of country hits. A Norwegian-American guitarist (whose name will be omitted since he has abandoned comic Scandinavian ditties and Honky Tonk heart-tuggers for hymns) used to entertain house-party revelers with a "yah shure" version of Bradley Kincaid's "I Was Born about Four Thousand Years Ago," in which he named and satirized local characters. Calling himself Haiki Lunda (Hank Snow in Finnish), Dave Riilta of Hancock, Michigan, was noted for converting "Is Anybody Goin' to San Antone?" into a song about Toivola and Tapiola, Michigan. Art Moilanen, proprietor of Art's Bar and the Adventure Motel in Mass City, Michigan, was especially noted for his repertoire of parodies or, as he called them, "ad libs."

"Art's Barroom" (after "Detroit City")

Last night I went to sleep in
Art's Barroom,
And I dreamed about that pulpwood
pile back home.
I dreamed about my chainsaw, dear
old ma and grandma;
I dreamed about those payments that
are overdue so long.
I wanna stay here, I wanna stay here,
Yo, but I wanna stay here.
And have another beer.⁴⁰

Stressing that "lotta them old Finn tunes have a comic streak too," Art also worked over "Born to Lose," "Tennessee Waltz," and "I'd Have a Room Full of Roses."

Drawing upon his affection for country melodies and his local tradition of Finnish humor, Art also composed new songs in an ethnic country mode. "The Lumberjack Song," with a tune reminiscent of Johnny Horton's "Sink the Bismarck," came about some twenty years ago.

When I owned the Rousseau Bar, the
first year, I was still logging. And
I took my crew to Art's Bar there for
a breakup party. This is the time of
the year when there's road restric-
tions on. And the ground gets too
soft in the woods to do anything
really. So that's known as the
breakup time. That's when I made up
the words to the song about the lum-
berjack:

The lumberjack, he came to town
on a warm springtime day.
A smile he had upon his face, in
his pocket was his pay.
He'd had a long hard winter,
a-working in the woods.
A packsack upon his back had all
his worldly goods.

For he's a rough and ready guy,
A lumberjack is he.
A good old rough and ready guy,
That's the way he's got to be.

He strode on into Art's Bar with
a twinkle in his eye.
Plunked his paycheck on the bar
and ordered up a rye.
He looked around and said, "Oh well,
I tell you what I think.
"If you will ring that little bell,
I'll buy the house a drink."

Jingo Viitala Vachon likewise delighted in
composing country style songs embellished by a
broad "Finnglish" accent. One began, "I'm chust
a Finn from Is'pemin'/t'at s'ovels ta iron ore,"
while another ("Eino Maki's Pig") chronicled the
demise of a giant porker named "Uncle Ned."

Distinctive, long-lived, still vibrant,

ethnic country music along the South Shore of
Lake Superior--and indeed the larger phenomenon
of panethnic old time music--face a critical
test in the years to come. All of the perform-
ers I have mentioned are more than fifty years
old. In some cases their children or younger
neighbors share their repertoires, but often

this is not the case. Born in the post-World War
II era, the younger generation, the third gener-
ation of immigrants, generally favor electric
guitars over accordions; and they prefer contem-
porary music--be it "modern country" or rock--
over earlier forms. This increasing orientation
has been exacerbated in recent years by heightened
recreational development and the seasonal on-
slaught of youthful tourists who would rather hear
powerfully amplified versions of ol' Waylong's
latest than listen to some "hick" alternately
pump out "Heartaches by the Number" and "Baruska"
on the accordion. At the same time--bolstered by
a resurgence of ethnic consciousness, broadcasts
of polka dominated programs like "Chmielewski
Fun Time," and frequent live appearances by such
youthful ethnic bands as The Northern Stars and
The Oulu Hotshots--old-time music may be on the
verge of a comeback. Whatever lies ahead, for
those who give it an open ear and a long look,
the region's music, at once ethnic and American,
has a rich sound and a complex history all its
own.

--James P. Leary
Wisconsin Folklife Center
Madison, Wisconsin

NOTES

(Fieldwork for this paper was carried out principally in the Summer of 1979
and from September 1980 through August 1981 with funding from the National
Endowment for the Arts and Northland College, Ashland, Wisconsin. My thanks
also go to Janet Crofton Gilmore who made the maps, and to Matthew Gallmann
who assisted with the fieldwork)

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2. Robert B. Klymasz, "'Sounds You Never Heard Before': Ukrainian Country Music in Western Canada," *Ethnomusicology* 16:3 (1972), 372-380.
3. See my article "Old Time Music in Northern Wisconsin," *American Music* (Spring 1984), 71-87.

4. Tape-recorded interview, Moquah, 18 March 1981. All interviews were conducted by the author. Tapes, field notes, and tape indexes are deposited in the Vere P. and Rosa M. McDowell Ethnic Heritage Sound Archive and Resource Center, Northland, College, Ashland, Wisconsin.
5. For example, Edward D. Ives, *Joe Scott: The Woodsman-Songmaker* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), pp. 371-393; and Robert D. Bethke, *Adirondack Voices, Woodsmen and Woods Lore* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981).
6. Rickaby, *Ballads and Songs of the Shanty-Boy* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1926); see also Daniel W. Greene, "'Fiddle and I: The Story of Franz Rickaby," *Journal of American Folklore* 81 (1968), 316-336.
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8. See Edith Fowke, *Lumbering Songs from the Northern Woods*, Publications of the American Folklore Society Memoir Series, No. 55 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1970), pp. 25-27.
9. From a manuscript collected by Ward Winton for the Washburn County Historical Society, ca. 1954.
10. Interview, Washburn, 2 February 1981.
11. George Russell, interview, Bruce, Wisconsin, 24 June 1975.
12. *Checklist of Recorded Songs in the English Language in the Archive of American Folksong to July 1940* vol. three (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1942), p. 138.
13. Rice Lake Chronotype, 14 October 1931.
14. This is N-11 in G. Malcolm Laws's classificatory scheme, *American Balladry from British Broad-sides* (Philadelphia: American Folklore Society, 1957), p. 208.
15. Interview, Herbster, 13 January 1981.
16. Interview, Washburn, Wisconsin, 5 March 1981.
17. Interview, Barksdale, Wisconsin, 22 June 1981.
18. See note 9.
19. Jingo Viitala Vachon, *Tall Timber Tales* (L'Anse, Michigan: L'Anse Sentinel, 1973), p. 2.
20. I examined half a dozen such books and heard of many others.
21. Interview, Moquah, 2 August 1979.
22. *Rice Lake Chronotype*, 10 April 1896 and 1 May 1896.
23. *Ashland Daily Press*, 2 and 7 May 1902: "Saturday evening a minstrel show will play at the opera house, a good house for that company is not questioned."
24. *Ashland Daily Press*, 12 January 1904.
25. *Ashland Daily Press*, 21 January 1904.
26. *Rice Lake Chronotype*, 16 October 1925; 21 April 1926; and 9 September 1929.
27. Richard Hulan, *Teater, Visafon och Bal*, program notes for a national tour of theatre, music, and dance traditions of Swedish America, p. 6; see also Maury Bernstein, "The Man Who Gave Us Nikolina," *Minnesota Earth Journal*, 3 (n.d.).
28. Interview, Ashland, 23 October 1980.
29. *Ashland Daily Press*, 27 March 1925.
30. *Rice Lake Chronotype*, 8 November 1933.
31. *Rice Lake Chronotype*, obituary, August 1975.
32. James F. Evans, *Prairie Farmer and WLS* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1969), chapters 7 and 8.
33. Jingo Viitala Vachon, *Sagas from Sisula* (L'Anse, Michigan: L'Anse Sentinel, 1975).
34. "Thirty Fiddlers Were in Contest," *Rice Lake Chronotype*, 24 March 1926.
35. *Rice Lake Chronotype*, 2 March 1928 and 2 November 1927.
36. Bob Andresen discusses these stations in a lengthier, unpublished version of his ground-breaking "Traditional Music: The Real Story of Ethnic Music and How it Evolved in Minnesota and Wisconsin," *Minnesota Monthly* (October 1978), 9-13.

37. Johnny Lombardo, interview, Ironwood, Michigan, May 1981.
38. Interview, Barksdale, Wisconsin, 22 June 1981.
39. Interview, Trimountain, Michigan, 23 March 1981.
40. Songs and biographical information were recorded from Art in Mass City, Michigan, 22 and 23 March 1981.



FAREWELL TONY

by

Archie Green

Alonza Elvis "Tony" Alderman, age 83, died on Tuesday, 25 October 1983 in Leonardtown, Maryland. A staff reporter for the nearby Lexington Park *Enterprise*, Joseph Norris, in a well-illustrated obituary ("Fiddler Tony Alderman: The Last of the Hill Billies," 2 November 1983), caught much of the zest and cheer which marked Tony's life. During the 1960s Alderman had helped immensely in my studies of old-time music, and, thereby, in launching this graphics series for the *JEMP Quarterly*. Accordingly, when Harold Closter, a friend at the Smithsonian Institution, telephoned to report Tony's death, I resolved to devote a feature to his memory.

Born on 10 September 1900 at River Hill, Virginia, young Alderman learned the trumpet and French horn from his father--director of the Galaz Dixie Concert (brass) Band--and country fiddling from friends and relatives in Grayson and Carroll counties. During January 1925, Tony joined with John Rector and Joe and Al Hopkins to travel to New York for an Okeh recording session. With an anecdote, now embedded in country music history, Tony, in later years, recalled that A&R man Ralph Peer had asked the Blue Ridge mountaineers for their string-band's name. In reply, Al Hopkins identified the performers as a bunch of hillbillies from North Carolina and Virginia. Peer, already acquainted with this word as both a funny and a fighting term, named the group The Hill Billies.

In time, this band helped denominate Anglo-American old-time music as *hillbilly*. For the past two decades, researchers have elaborated Tony's baptismal account, filled in contextual background, and supplied corroborative detail. As well, one scholar has reported on other pioneer musicians who also used this tag to identify the idiom. (See Wayne Daniel, "George Daniell's Hill Billies: The Band That Named the Music?" *JEMPQ* No. 70, Summer 1983.) Professor Daniel's article reinforces the necessity for constant revision in our views about American vernacular expression.

The Al Hopkins band, which recorded for Okeh, Brunswick, and Vocalion, did not survive its leader's death in 1932. However, Tony continued to fiddle until the very end. Living in Washington, DC, for more than four decades, he worked as a dental x-ray technician, where his skill led to several patented inventions. These included a microscopic lens to "peer" into and to photograph the human throat. Learning to fly

and obtaining a license, Tony pioneered in aerial photography. He enjoyed telling friends about leaning out of the cockpit, literally, to take landscape photos in the Potomac River area. During Washington years, Tony played in a local string-band, The Happy Hicks, at times, adding a saw for special effects. I recall an especially happy twilight performance, to which Tony invited me, on a Chesapeake & Ohio Canal mule-drawn boat.

In 1970 Tony retired from formal employment, moving to a little house--including a private dark room--at Golden Beach on the Patauxent River in St. Mary's County, Maryland. His final years were full: music, photography, exchanging tapes, educating grandchildren, crabbing (pursuing the fabled soft-shelled crab). At Golden Beach he joined with Joe Krahling, Sid Sorrels, Myles Timko, Roy "Speedy" Tolliver, and other local musicians to form the Over the Hill Gang. The Gang played constantly at celebrations such as tobacco auctions and blessing-of-the-fleet rituals. As well, Tony performed for the National Council for Traditional Arts's festivals at Wolf Trap Farm on Washington's outskirts, and for the Smithsonian Institution's Festival of American Folklife on the National Mall. In Alderman's eighth decade, he traveled twice yearly to Washington to fiddle at Fourth of July and Christmas parties at the National Museum of American History. Characteristically, he was en route to a good-will entertainment at the St. Mary's Nursing Home, Leonardtown, when he fell fatally ill.

Tony Alderman enriched the lives of others not only with a lifetime of marvelous fiddling, but also by guiding historians and discographers through the maze of early country music events. Fortunately, we can still hear him in performance on *The Hill Billies* (County 405), an LP reissue in 1974, of twelve classic early tunes. The album, edited by Joe Wilson, holds a delightful four-page illustrated brochure, which permits present day listeners to see Tony and his fellow entertainers as they appeared in their prime recording/barnstorming years. By a choice set of circumstances, a few band photos taken by Tony, himself, as well as photos taken by others, have become emblematic of country music origins.

We reproduce a few such pictures here. I open with the very first depiction of The Hill Billies to reach any audience. After Ralph Peer selected a name for the Hopkins-Rector-Alderman combination, Okeh publicists needed a visual for their dealers's supplements and related adver-

tisements. Although a few dates are imprecise, this sequence of events in 1925 frames the first picture:

- A) January 15, Christening day for The Hill Billies in New York.
- B) February ?, Okeh dealers's supplement announces release of "Silly Bill"/"Old Time Cinda" (Okeh 40294).
- C) April ?, Second release, "Cripple Creek"/"Sally Ann" (Okeh 40336).
- D) April 15, *The Talking Machine World* uses a life-like sketch to tout the band.
- E) May ?, Sketch used again in Okeh supplement.

Following key leads supplied by fiddler Charlie Bowman (his letter to Joe Nicholas, *Disc Collector* January 1961), I first visited Alderman in Washington DC (3 June 1962). I was overwhelmed by his disc and photograph collection, as well as by his kindness and hospitality. More so than many participants, he was conscious of his role as a pathbreaker and, hence, of his responsibility to get knowledge of recorded mountain music into scholarly channels. Accordingly, he was eager to share information and artifact with all who approached him.

Giving me a set of glossy prints of The Hill Billies, Tony expressed regret that he lacked the first—one he had taken in Galax (February or March, 1925) and mailed to New York. It stood out in his mind because he had used his own tripod-mounted delayed-action camera. This permitted him to pose John Rector (banjo), Al Hopkins (piano), and Joe Hopkins (guitar). Then, triggering the camera he joined the group, fiddle in hand. After sending the photo to Okeh, he was surprised to see that it was not used directly in publicity material. Rather, a staff artist used it as a model for a drawing in pen-and-ink or pencil.

In my years at the University of Illinois, during the 1960s, I immersed myself in learning about hillbilly music's beginnings. With colleagues who helped form the JEMF, I asked: How did this hybrid music jell and sell? Who named it? What consequences flowed from this act? When did *hillbilly*, as a label, give way to *country-western*, *bluegrass*, and similar neutral terms?

One of my tasks involved reading, page by page, the huge bound volumes of *The Talking Machine World*. To my great joy, I found The Hill Billies sketch in the issue of 15 April 1925. Subsequently, I summed up findings in an article ("Hillbilly Music: Source and Symbol," *Journal of American Folklore*, July 1965). While serving as a faculty advisor to the UI Campus Folksong Club, this group reprinted the JAF article. For the pamphlet cover, Professor A. Doyle Moore—a friend, a teacher of graphic arts, a fine printer—reproduced the *TMW* drawing. Upon my sending a reprint copy to Alderman,

he enlarged its cover and framed it. Literally, Tony kept this enlarged photo on his living-room wall from 1965 until his death. During April 1984, Tony's heirs and Harold Closter returned the framed photo to me for safekeeping. Here, we reproduce the Campus Folksong Club reprint cover, in exact size, as well as the original sketch, in story context, from *The Talking Machine World* (page 50).

The *TMW* drawing contrasts well with subsequent photos of the Hopkins crew. For their first photo all four members wore stylish suits, vests, and ties. Later, they "dressed down" as country bumpkins with overalls and bandannas. Interestingly, the band did not hold together long enough to see mountain musicians turn from dress suits, to overalls, to cowboy togs. Here we reproduce a photograph with members in overalls as part of an advertisement from the Elkins (West Virginia) *Daily Inter-Mountain* (17 July 1928). This ad calls attention to the band's considerable "tank-towning," on the road away from Washington.

Following the success of its initial Okeh discs, the Hopkins group switched to the linked Brunswick and Vocalion labels, using as names: Al Hopkins and His Buckle Busters for the former; The Hill Billies for the latter. About February 1925, the band made its radio debut on Washington station WRC. In lauding The Hill Billies on the air, *Radio Digest* (6 March 1926) sagely noted radio's modernizing function in the hill country as well as its role in bringing "the folk music of America" back to the mountains. Washington broadcasts by the Hopkins crew, in turn, led to live engagements from the Carolinas to Ohio and New York. The band members moved readily in many arenas: fiddlers contest, political rallies, school assemblies, vaudeville shows, recording sessions. During a recording trip to New York, the group made a film sound-short for Vitaphone, *The Hill Billies*, released as a trailer with Al Jolson's *The Singing Fool*. (The *JEMFQ* would appreciate an article by a film buff who knows this short's history.)

In the Elkins Theatre ad we see an augmented band: standing—Charlie Bowman (fiddle), Tony Alderman (fiddle), Al Hopkins (guitar); seated—Joe Hopkins (tenor banjo), Walter "Sparkplug" Hughes (guitar), Frank Wilson (banjo). The ad announces Wilson as "King of the steelguitar"—a credit well deserved. Although we can still hear Wilson on records, I know of no printed account of his contribution. In short, we have not yet followed all trails to tell country music's entire story.

The Elkins Theatre item holds considerable interest today for billing the Hopkins troupe above the featured films, for its pre-inflation prices (25¢ and 50¢), and for its intriguing reference to Casey Jones. During the band's active years, the members supplied glossy prints to various promoters, always in connection with personal appearances. I do not know how many such photos were turned into throwaway fliers,

window posters, and newspaper announcements. However, the Elkins ad well represents one face of hillbilly music, commercial and successful.

Most histories of country music report the great Depression's Crash of 1929 as a dividing point between old and new styles. Many musicians, embittered by the loss of audience and income, put their instruments aside in the early 1930s, while some accommodated to then-emerging country-western demands. One of Alderman's friends, Ernest "Pop" Stoneman, made an unusual four-decade transition from acoustical to long-play recordings, retaining to the very end his old-time manner. Tony, like "Pop," continued to favor the oldest forms, but never after the Crash did he appear in a recording studio. Fortunately, a few discs holding Tony's fiddling were reissued for new audiences after World War II.

Alan Lomax, in 1947, edited *Mountain Frolic* (Brunswick B-1025), a reissue anthology of five 78-rpm discs by various string-bands. The album included "Cluck Old Hen" and "Black-Eyed Susie" by Al Hopkins and His Bucklebusters. This reissue set, and a companion, *Listen to Our Story* (Brunswick B-1024), were both reissued again on 10" LPs (Brunswick 59000 and 59001) when 78s were phased out by long-playing discs. In time Coral, a Japanese Decca subsidiary, combined cuts from the two 10" albums into a 12" LP, *American Folk Classics* (Coral MH 174). Finally, the recent Japanese MCA album *The Fifty-Year History of Country Music* (MCA 3013), included "Black-Eyed Susie." Thus, one of the pieces featuring Tony's fiddling has had an unusually long and wide appeal.

At this juncture, I shall not comment on other LP reissues of The Hill Billies on labels such as Blue Ridge Institute, County, and Vetco. Rather, I shall return to *Mountain Frolic's* cover, reproduced here. Literally, we see, in 1947, a commercial artist's conception of folk-song shaped in the New Deal and World War II period. The album's cover shows dancers and musicians as they might have appeared in a Davy Crockett almanac or Daniel Boone memoir. Brunswick executives, assisted by folklorist Lomax, pushed urban listeners back into time to prepare them for mountain music at a war's end--an event which had pulled people out of mountain homes and altered their mores and music.

Today it is easy to note changes in the imagery used by the sound recording industry to promote Alderman and his peers. When Tony photographed himself in "his" band of 1925, he and his buddies donned their very best dress suits. A phonograph record debut called for maximum dignity. Also, Tony was apprehensive that the band's name, The Hill Billies, might trouble some of his Blue Ridge neighbors. Hence, a "proper" picture served as an amulet to ward off bad luck.

A few years later (reaching to the feuding/moonshining/ high jinks stereotypes of head-of-

the-holler pleasure), the troupe donned comic gear. In a sense, in this initial reincarnation, the Hopkins crew visually became white minstrels mimicking their own culture. The Brunswick album cover artist of 1947, in returning to log-cabin days, certified that Tony and his friends represented good times, but times well before backwoods frolics were burlesqued for commercial purposes. Additionally, Brunswick's delineation suggested that The Hill Billies (and fraternal string-band musicians) were as patriotically American as Crockett and Boone. Essentially, *Mountain Frolic's* album cover bridged New Deal and World War II concerns: as our citizens faced an uncertain future of nuclear energy and imperial world power, they needed constantly to reaffirm a "natural" heritage.

For many pioneer artists we have little memorabilia. All students of country music know the pain in reaching a performer who never felt that his ephemera held value, or in meeting heirs who allowed their parents's "things" to slip away. Fortunately, Alderman kept a trunk full of photos and clippings to mark his personal odyssey. Did he keep the faith in the lean years, hoping that a collector might come along to share his treasures? To the best of my knowledge, no photos or drawings of The Hill Billies were used in print from 1931 until 1966. When Tony presented me with a number of glossy prints, I quickly shared them with fellow researchers. During 1966 Robert Shelton and Burt Goldblatt edited *The Country Music Story*, an early illustrated overview. These compilers used a photo of The Hill Billies (page 29); I believe this to be the first printing of a picture of the Hopkins troupe in historical perspective.

During 1968 the University of Texas Press published Bill C. Malone's *Country Music USA*, a work known to all serious students of the idiom. (Happily, the Press will reissue Malone's book in 1985, fully revised and updated.) Here, I report only that Malone, in 1968, used two pictures from Tony's collection. In 1969, the Press reissued *Country Music USA* in paperback, retaining the original book's "broadside" cover. However, in 1975, for a second paperback edition, a book designer in Austin selected one picture of The Hill Billies for use on the paperback's cover (reproduced here). Cropping the photo to show a singing trio--Tony (cap on backwards), Joe Hopkins (felt hat), Charlie Bowman (floppy hat and fiddle under arm)--the designer telegraphed an instant message: this trio personifies country music.

I am pleased that these musicians from Virginia, North Carolina, and Tennessee dominate the cover of an analytic history, published in 1975, by an academic press, and widely distributed in paperback. The University of Texas Press might have decorated Professor Malone's book with Nashville sequins and spangles, or a guns-and-guitar singing cowboy riding down the canyon. Instead, the Press, appropriately, turned back

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the increase in the minimum earload weight, if not from the increase in less-than-earload rating. Counsel for the various interests will be allowed until May 15 to file briefs.

Hill Billies' Okeh Records

The Okeh library has been enriched recently by several records made by the Hill Billies, an organization that has attained considerable pop-



Hill Billies

ularity in the South. A banjo, fiddle and guitar plus the exceptional ability of the pianist gives the true mountaineer music, and throughout the South the Hill Billies are welcomed wherever they appear.

R. S. Peer on Extended Trip

R. S. Peer, director of record production of the General Phonograph Corp., is on an extensive trip calling on Okeh-Odeon distributors in all parts of the country. Among other activities, he has had the pleasure of being a judge at an Old-Time Fiddlers' Convention in Knoxville, Tenn.

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UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS CAMPUS FOLKSONG CLUB
reprint number two



HILLBILLY MUSIC : SOURCE AND SYMBOL
Archie Green

Journal of American Folklore, July-Sept. 1965, Vol. 78, No. 309

ELKINS THEATRE

Tonight-Wed, July 17-18

THEY ARE COMING IN PERSON THE ORIGINAL HILL-BILLIES WITH

Al Hopkins and His Buckle Busters

Brunswick recording artists and the full troupe of WRC & WJZ radio stars
Most Popular Entertainers

Two Performances each night—first show 7 p. m., second show 9 p. m.
Great News — Great Entertainment — No other Act like it!

A POSITIVE SENSATION

Featuring
Charlie Bowman
Champion Fiddler
of the south

Elvis Alderman
that funny come-
dian and fiddling
fool with Spark
Plug the 16 year
old wonder.

Double Show in
One with Regular
Picture program
one hour of music,
fun and comedy
by the Hill-Billies.



After the first performance of the Hill-Billies, we will present to you a
moving picture "Danger Beware", Columbia Pictures presents

"STOLEN PLEASURES"

Featuring Helen Chadwick and Dorothy Revier

A DRAMA OF FOOLISH WIVES AND HUSBANDS. WHAT would you do if you found your wife in the arms of another man? Who would be to blame your wife, the other "man" or you? Ask yourself this question and then see this powerful dramatic sermon against jealousy and stolen pleasures. It's the story of the foolish husbands and wives of the world.

ALSO A TWO REEL COMEDY

Admission: Children 25c - Adults 50c

Watch for CASEY JONES, Following This Program

Presenting
Al & John
Hopkins

the two popular
entertainers in old
and new songs.

Frank P. Wilson
King of the steel
guitar

This show comes
direct to Elkins
from the Ritz The-
ater, Clarksburg.
Don't miss it! Best
production ever
offered in Elkins.

Shoe

63 x 90 size
72 x 90 size
81 x 90 size
81 x 90 size

Hemstitch

81 x 90 size

THOMAS NEW

THOMAS, July 17 — Mr. Gable, having spent the night with Mrs. Blackburn of this town, returned to her home in town.

Miss Ruby Kirby of Elkins, recent guest of Mr. and Mrs. Kessling of this city, returned to her home in town.

Harry Johnson of this city, employed by the Dayton street company of Baltimore, spent the week end with his family in Elkins.

Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Lee of Elkins spent Sunday with their family. Mrs. Lee is the daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Lee of this city.

Start Drive Again Bootleggers on

WASHINGTON, July 17 — Preliminary steps for a drive against moonshiners and bootleggers have been taken at a national conference of prohibitionists.

Before the conference could be reached whether the prohibitionists should handle the problem with the force of this work be turned a special squad.

Inland waters such as the Missouri river, Commission said, afford best for the bootleggers who are up to the enforcement officers.

Twenty-Five Persons Hurt in Explosion

PITTSBURGH, Pa., July 17 — A gas explosion in a building at the end of the city, which caused the death of one person and injured 25 others, was the result of a gas leak from a pipe and gas leak from a pipe.

Gramercy
NEW YORK, N.Y.

MOUNTAIN FROLIC

Square Dance pieces and hoedowns from the southern mountains... The tale of a Tennessee Frontier dance in 1840



ARKANSAS TRAVELER • SOURWOOD MOUNTAIN • CINDY • OLD JOE CLARK • SUGAR HILL • SAIL AWAY, LADIES • BLACK EYED SUSIE • SALLY GOODIN • SALLY IN THE GARDEN • CLUCK, OLD HEN
Authentically performed by UNCLE DAVE MACON and his Fruit Jar Drinkers • THE CROCKETT FAMILY
BRADLEY KINCAID • AL HOPKINS and his Buckle Busters • and THE TENNESSEE RAMBLERS



AMERICAN FOLK MUSIC SERIES • SING-A-LONG BOOK WITH WORDS AND MUSIC EDITED BY ALAN LOMAX
BRUNSWICK ALBUM NO. B-1025

COUNTRY
MUSIC USA

Bill C. Malone

Texas

COUNTRY MUSIC USA

A FIFTY-YEAR HISTORY BY BILL C. MALONE



to a 1920s photo, one originally intended to base country music in a past of rural humor. Next year, we shall see what the publishers of Malone's revised *Country Music USA* use on the cover or dust-wrapper to catch the attention of contemporary readers.

The kinds of pictures taken by Tony Alderman from 1925-1931, and those taken by others in which he and his fellows play, have been especially useful in displays embellishing old-time music. Hence, I have been able to pay my respects to a friend with but a handful of graphics in which he appears. In this commentary, I have not been impelled to eulogize Tony. Rather, I have called attention to his role as a conservator with a full trunk of pictures and clippings. These archival

skills complemented the life of one dedicated to old styles and tested repertoires in mountain music.

To let Tony have the last word I append below one of his early letters to me--an anecdotal document in its own right. When Tony first wrote out his memory of the naming of hillbilly music, he ended his letter by promising to "mend his ways" in order to "answer sooner next time." Those of us who join hands to document vernacular music in its varied manifestations need to mend our ways as we, too, co-respond with each other, exchange material, and share experience. Tony Alderman raised high pennants for all who heard his fiddling and shared his wisdom.

--San Francisco, CA

[ca. 1961]

Dear Mr. Green:

You asked how the Hill Billies got started. Well, my father started me out to play the trumpet like John Philip Sousa, which I enjoyed until I began to hear my uncles and "Pop" Stoneman play for all kinds of gatherings and I decided I just had to join up. So I learned to fiddle. I was working in a barber shop in Galax, Virginia, and one Monday morning along came a man with a guitar. I sent for my fiddle and we started. Friday came along and we were still going strong. I can't remember doing any work.

There lived near-by a man named Henry Whitter who had made some records like "Soldier's Joy", "Little Brown Jug", and others. So we thought anything he could do we could do better. Along came another man by the name of John Rector who had made one record for Victor. He listened for a while and then said, "Would you go to New York if I could get you an appointment?" He got one, and away we went in a 1923 Dodge. Three days later we were in New York.

We played in front of a big horn, banjo ten feet back in the corner. I was fiddling like mad on a fiddle with a horn on it which I couldn't hear. John Rector couldn't hear me either, and no one could hear the guitar. Nobody could hear anybody else, to tell the truth. Victor played the record back to us, and my father could have done better on his Edison! (No reflection on Victor; it was us.) So we went home a little sad and ashamed that we had not done better.

Not to be outdone, we wrote to Okeh, and they said, "Come on up". This time, no horn, but a microphone 1924 [1/15/25]. We could tell we had made a hit by the way they were grinning. So now we had a record coming out, and no name for the band.

Your account of the conversation between Al Hopkins and Mr. Ralph Peer is correct, word for word (I was there), except for the word "Original" which had not been attached to the Hill Billies as yet, as no other band had called themselves Hill Billies and we had no cause to protect the name at that time. In fact, we were worried because we had agreed with Mr. Peer so readily, for, as you have mentioned, the word "Hill Billies" was not only a funny word, it was a fighting word. To us it meant a back-woods person who knew nothing at all about city life and who hadn't been to school much either. So we were not even sure we wanted to use this name for our band.

But there is a little more to the story than Charlie [Bowman] told you. Two more people had something to do with the name. As we were on our way to New York, a Mr. John Hopkins, Sr. (father of the four Hopkins boys who lived in Washington at the time) asked what brought us to Washington, and we told him that we were on our way to New York to make records. Said he, "What do you hill billies think you can do up there?" After we had made the records in New York, and in the course of conversation, Al said, "We are nothing but a bunch of hill billies." Mr. Peer was pleased with this name, but we sort-of wished at the time we had found a more dignified one. So back to Washington where we met up with Ernest "Pop" Stoneman. When we told him what we had called ourselves, he laughed until tears came, and said, "You couldn't have ever got a better name". So it stuck.

I was afraid to go home as the country people played and sang this type of music, and hid their instruments at the sight of a city slicker. And now I had gone to New York and put their music on records and called it a bad name to boot. So I just didn't go home for four years. Things happened so fast that by the time I did get home the name was real dignified. Country people would go into a music store, ask for Hill Billy records, and the salesman would show them all the new country records just out. They just didn't bother with the ritzy kind. The name "Hill Billy" sort-of classified them.

We were almost famous when we arrived home from the first trip, as the high school was getting ready for a show which we were to do. We decided that the name "Hill Billies" was being good to us and that we should protect it. We hired a lawyer in Washington to copyright it for us. By the time we got our stock for sale, we had another call back to New York to make records for Brunswick, and right across the street in the Hippodrome Theater was a bunch of boys who were calling themselves the Ozark Hill Billies. It was just before this time that the "Original Hill Billies" was copyrighted, also under the name of Al Hopkins and his Buckle Busters. So from that day on there were more kinds of Hill Billy bands popping up than you could count, and some of them were so good that we didn't want to stop them anyway.

I think you have the rest of this story on tape.

I shall mend my ways and answer sooner next time.

Regards,

A. E. Alderman

A PRELIMINARY INDEX OF COUNTRY MUSIC ARTISTS
AND SONGS IN COMMERCIAL MOTION PICTURES (1928-1953)

Part 3

by Willie Smyth

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Night Train to Memphis
No One Will Ever Know
- Mountain Rhythm (REP, 1939); Gene Autry, Smiley Burnette
A Gold Mine in Your Heart
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- Mountain Rhythm (ASTOR Short, 1949); Georgia Slim & the Texas Roundup Boys
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- Mule Train (COL, 1950); Gene Autry
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- Night Train to Memphis (REP, 1946); Roy Acuff & His Smoky Mountain Boys
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Old Los Angeles (REP, 1948); Estelita Rodriguez, Catherine McLeod

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Old Oklahoma Plains (REP, 1952); Rex Allen, Republic Rhythm Riders

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Cowboys Dream of Heaven
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Omaha Trail (MGM, 1942); Chill Wills

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On the Old Spanish Trail (REP, 1947); Roy Rogers, Sons of the Pioneers, Estelita Rodriguez, Tito Guizar

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On Top of Old Smokey (COL, 1953); Gene Autry, Smiley Burnette, Cass County Boys

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Out California Way (REP, 1946); Roy Rogers, Dale Evans, Monte Hale, Allen Erwin (Calgary Kid), Foy Willing & the Riders of the Purple Sage

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Outlaw Express (UNIV, 1938); Bob Baker

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Outlaw Trail (COL, 1954); Pee Wee King

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Outlaws of the Rockies (COL, 1945); Spade Cooley,
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Outpost of the Mounties (COL, 1939); Sons of the
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 riguez, Pinky Lee
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 Pals of the Golden West
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Pals of the Silver Sage (MON, 1940); Tex Ritter
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Partners of the Plains (PMT, 1938); Bill Boyd,
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Partners of the Sunset (MON, 1948); Jimmy Wakely

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 I'm Getting a Moon's Eye View of the World
 I'm Oscar, I'm Pete
 Just Come on Back
 My Cross-Eyed Gal
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Phantom Stage (UNIV, 1939); Bob Baker
 Give Me the Life of a Cowboy
 We're Brandin' Today

Phantom Valley (COL, 1948); Smiley Burnette,
 Ozie Waters & His Colorado Rangers

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The Pinto Kid (COL, 1941); Sons of the Pioneers

Pioneer Marshal (REP, 1950); Monte Hale

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 & His Saddle Pals, Doye O'Dell
 Pioneer Men
 Smokey Joe
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Pony Post (UNIV, 1940); Johnny Bond

Prairie Gunsmoke (COL, 1942); Tex Ritter
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 Where the Buffalo Roam

Prairie Moon (REP, 1938); Gene Autry, Smiley
 Burnette
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 Hoofbeats on the Prairie
 In the Jailhouse Now
 Trigger Joe
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 The West, a Nest, and You

Prairie Outlaws (PRC, 1948); Eddie Dean

Prairie Pals (PRC, 1942); Bill Boyd & the Cowboy
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Prairie Pappas (RKO Short, 1938); Ray Whitley

Prairie Pirates (UI Short, 1950); Tex Williams,
 Smokey Rogers

Prairie Raiders (COL, 1947); Smiley Burnette,
 Ozie Waters & His Colorado Rangers

Prairie Roundup (COL, 1951); Smiley Burnette,
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Prairie Stranger (COL, 1941); Cliff Edwards, Lew
 Preston and His Ranch Hands

Prairie Spooners (RKO Short, 1941); Ray Whitley

Prairie Thunder (WB, 1937); Dick Foran

Pretty Woman (S/E Short, 1949); Red River Dave
 McEnery

Pride of the Plains (REP, 1943); Smiley Burnette

Prince of the Plains (REP, 1949); Monte Hale

The Prodigal Son (UI, 1950); Elton Britt

Public Cowboy No. One (REP, 1937); Gene Autry,
Smiley Burnette

Defective Detective from Brooklyn
Heebie Jeebie Blues
I Picked up the Trail When I Found You
Old Buckaroo
Wanders of the Wasteland
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The Sunshine Boys

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Ray Whitley, Frankie Marvin, Chill Wills

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Radio Stars on Parade (RKO, 1945); Rufe Davis

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Raiders of San Joaquin (UNIV, 1943); Jimmy
Wakely Trio, Tex Ritter, Fuzzy Knight

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Raiders of the Border (MON, 1943); J.M. Brown
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Raiders of the Range (REP, 1942); Rufe Davis
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Raiders of the South (MON, 1947); Raymond Hatton

Raiders of Tomahawk Creek (COL, 1950); Smiley
Burnette

Raiders of the West (PRC, 1942); Bill Boyd &
the Cowboy Ramblers

Rainbow Over Texas (REP, 1946); Roy Rogers, Dale
Evans, Sons of the Pioneers

Cowboy Camp Meeting
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Rainbow Over Texas
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Rainbow Over the Range (MON, 1940); Tex Ritter,
Art Wilcox & the Arizona Rangers

Poor Slim
Rainbow Over the Range
The School Song

Rainbow Over the Rockies (MON, 1947); Jimmy
Wakely, Wesley Tuttle & His Texas Stars

Ranch House Romeo (RKO, 1939); Ray Whitley

Rancho Grande (REP, 1940); Gene Autry, Smiley
Burnette, Pals of the Golden West, Brewer Kids

Belles of the Bunkhouse
El Rancho Grande
I Don't Belong to Your World
La Cucaracha
Swing on the Range
Whistle
You Can't Take the Boy Out of the Country

Range Beyond the Blue (PRC, 1947); Eddie Dean,
Sunshine Boys

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Range Beyond the Blue
West of the Pecos

Range Renegades (MON, 1948); Jimmy Wakely,
Fiddlin' Arthur Smith

Range Rhythm (RKO Short, 1942); Ray Whitley,
Frankie Marvin

Ranger and the Lady (REP, 1940); Roy Rogers
As Long as We are Dancing
Chiquita

Ranger of Cherokee Strip (REP, 1949); Monte Hale
Hangman, Slack Your Rope

Rangers Ride (MON, 1948); Jimmy Wakely, Fiddlin'
Arthur Smith, Louis Armstrong

Rangers' Roundup (S/P, 1938); Fred Scott
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The Rangers Take Over (PRC, 1942); James Newill

Rawhide (20th, 1938); Smith Ballew, Ray Whitley
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That Old Washboard Band
When a Cowboy Goes to Town

Rawhide Rangers (UNIV, 1941); Neil O'Day, Fuzzy
Knight, The Texas Rangers

A Cowboy is Happy
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It's a Ranger's Life

Ready to Ride (UI Short, 1950); Tex Williams &
His Western Caravan

Red River Robin Hood (RKO, 1942); Cliff Edwards

Red River Valley (REP, 1936); Gene Autry, Smiley
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Red River Valley (REP, 1941); Roy Rogers, Sons
of the Pioneers

Chant of the Wanderer
Lily of Hillbilly Valley
Love Begins at Sunset on the Trail

Robbers Roost (UA, 1955); Tony Romano
 I Turned It Down
 Robber's Roost
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Robin Hood of the Pecos (REP, 1941); Roy Rogers

Robin Hood of Texas (REP, 1947); Gene Autry,
 Cass County Boys
 Goin' Back to Texas
 Merry Go-Round
 You're the Moment of a Lifetime

Robin Hood of the Range (COL, 1943); Jimmy Wakely
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Robison, Carson & His Buckaroos (unk.)
 Home on the Range/On the Lone Prairie
 I'm an Old Cowhand (From the Rio Grande)
 Let's All Sing Like the Birdies Sing
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 Take Me Back to My Boots and Saddle

Rockin' in the Rockies (COL, 1945); Hoosier Hot
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 Boys, Mary Beth Hughes

Rodeo Day (wpth, 1935); Frank Luther, Ray Whitley

Rodeo King and the Senorita (REP, 1951); Rex Allen
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Radio Rhythm (PRC, 1942); Fred Scott, Ray Knapp's
 Rough Riders
 Little Saddles

Roll Along Cowboy (20th, 1938); Smith Ballew
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 Roll Along, Ride 'Em Cowboy

Roll on Texas Moon (REP, 1946); Roy Rogers, Dale
 Evans, Sons of the Pioneers
 The Jumping Bean
 Roll on Texas Moon
 What's Doin' Tonight in Dreamland
 Won'tcha Be a Friend of Mine

Roll, Wagons, Roll (MON, 1939); Tex Ritter
 Oh Susannah
 Roll, Wagons, Roll

Rollin' Home to Texas (MON, 1940); Tex Ritter,
 Cal Shrum & His Rhythm Rangers, Eddie Dean,
 Tex Williams
 Cowboy Swing
 Desert Moonlight
 Give Me a Horse, Saddle and You
 Rollin' Home
 Slimmy Boy
 Under Texas Stars

Wabash Cannonball
 Why Did I Get Married

Rollin' Plains (GN, 1938); Tex Ritter, Beverly
 Hillbillies
 Me an' My Pal, My Pony
 Rollin' Plains

Rollin' Westward (MON, 1939); Tex Ritter
 Back in '67
 Out in the Golden West
 Rollin' Westward

Rolling Down the Great Divide (unk.); Bill Boyd
 & the Cowboy Ramblers

Romance of the West (PRC, 1946); Eddie Dean,
 Gene Autry, Sons of the Pioneers
 I Follow the Stream
 Love Song of the Waterfall

Romance on the Range (REP, 1942); Roy Rogers,
 Sons of the Pioneers
 Coyote Serenade
 Rocky Mountain Lullaby
 Sing as You Work
 When Romance Rides the Range
 Oh Wonderful World

Romance Rides the Range (S/P, 1936); Fred Scott

Rootin' Tootin' Rhythm (REP, 1937); Al Clauser
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 nette
 Mexicali Rose
 Old Home Place
 Rootin' Tootin' Rhythm

Rough Riders Roundup (REP, 1939); Roy Rogers

Rough Ridin' Justice (COL, 1945); Jimmy Wakely
 Trio

Rough Tough West (COL, 1952); Pee Wee King & His
 Band
 You Don't Need My Love Any More

The Round-Up (PMT, 1941); The King's Men

Roundup Time in Texas (REP, 1937); Gene Autry,
 Smiley Burnette
 Dry, Dry, Dry
 Indian Song
 Noah's Ark
 Old Chisholm Trail

Rovin' Tumbleweeds (REP, 1939); Gene Autry,
 Smiley Burnette, "Lasses" White, Pals of the
 Golden West
 Away Up Yonder
 I'm Back in the Saddle Again
 Old Peaceful River
 Rocky Mountain Express

Rustlers (RKO, 1949); Lois Andrews
 Annabella
 My Darling Nellie Gray

Rustlers of the Badland (COL, 1945); Tex Harding

Rustler's Roundup (UNIV, 1947); Jane Adams

Saddle Leather Law (COL, 1944); Jimmy Wakely,
 Salty Holmes

Saddle Pals (REP, 1947); Gene Autry, Cass County
 Boys
 Amapola
 The Covered Wagon Rolled Right Along
 I Wish I had Never Met Sunshine
 Which Way Did They Go
 You Stole My Heart

Saddle Serenade (MON, 1945); Jimmy Wakely, Foy
 Willing & the Riders of the Purple Sage
 Saddle Serenade

Saddles and Sagebrush (COL, 1943); Bob Wills &
 the Texas Playboys
 Get Along
 Hubbin' It
 Ki Yi Yippie Yea
 Toodleumbo

Sagebrush Heroes (COL, 1945); Jimmy Wakely &
 His Saddle Pals, Ozie Waters & the Colorado
 Rangers

Sagebrush Law (RKO, 1942); Cliff Edwards

Sagebrush Serenade (RKO Short, 1939); Ray Whitley

Sagebrush Troubador (REP, 1935); Gene Autry,
 Smiley Burnette
 End of the Trail
 The Hurdy Gurdy Man
 I'd Love a Home in the Mountains
 I'd Love to Wed
 Lookin' for the Lost Chord
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 My Prayer for Tonight
 On the Prairie
 Someday in Wyoming
 Way down on the Bottom
 Way out in Texas

Saginaw Trail (COL, 1953); Gene Autry, Smiley
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 Learn I Love You

San Antone (REP, 1953); Bob Steele, Harry Carey,
 James Litburn
 Cowboy's Lament
 South of San Antone
 10,000 Cattle

San Antone Ambush (REP, 1949); Monte Hale
 Just a Wanderin' Buckaroo

San Antonio Rose (UNIV, 1941); Merry Macs, Jane
 Frazee
 Bugle Woogie Boy
 Hi Neighbor
 Hut Sut Song
 Mexican Jumping Bean
 Old Oaken Bucket
 Once upon a Summertime
 San Antonio Rose
 You've Got What it Takes

San Antonio Rose (REP, 1949); Roy Acuff, Jimmy
 Riddle

San Fernando Valley (REP, 1944); Dale Evans, Roy
 Rogers, Sons of the Pioneers
 Days of '49
 I Drottled a Drit Drit
 My Hobby is Love
 San Fernando Valley
 Sweeter than You
 They Went that A-Way

Saga of Death Valley (REP, 1939); Roy Rogers,
 Johnny Bond

Santa Fe Saddlemates (REP, 1945); Linda Stirling
 Oh, Mister

Saturday Night Square Dance (ASTOR Short, 1949);
 Jim Boyd & the Men of the West

Savage Horde (REP, 1950); Stuart Hamblen
 Ridin' Old Paint and Leadin' Old Bald

Scott, Tommy performed in sixteen musical shorts
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Senorita from the West (UNIV, 1945); Spade Cooley
 & His Orchestra, Allan Jones, Bonita Granville
 Devil's Dream

Shadow Valley (PRC, 1947); Eddie Dean, The
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Shadows on the Sage (REP, 1942); Jimmy Dodd

Sheriff of Tombstone (REP, 1941); Roy Rogers,
 Lulubelle and Scotty
 Shine on Harvest Moon

Shine on Harvest Moon (WB, 1944); Ann Sheridan,
 Dennis Morgan
 Apple Blossom Time in Normandy
 Every Little Movement
 I Go for You
 Pretty Baby
 San Antonio

Shine on Harvest Moon
So Dumb but So Beautiful
Time Waits For No One
What's the Matter With Father?

Shooting High (20th, 1940); Gene Autry
In Our Little Shanty of Dreams
Little Old Band of Gold
On the Radio With My Pancho
There's Only one Love in a Lifetime

Sierra Sue (REP, 1941); Gene Autry, Smiley
Burnette, Eddie Dean
Be Honest With Me
Heebie Jeebie Blues
I'll Be True
Ridin' the Range
Sierra Sue

Silver Bandit (FRIE, 1950); Spade Cooley

Silver Bullet (UNIV, 1942); Fuzzy Knight, Pals
of the Golden West

Silver Butte (UI Short, 1949); Tex Williams &
His Band

Silver Canyon (COL, 1951); Gene Autry
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Ridin' down the Canyon

Silver City Bonanza (REP, 1951); Rex Allen
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Lollipop Lane
Sweet Evalina

Silver City Raiders (COL, 1943); Bob Wills &
the Texas Playboys
Cowboy's Serenade
Happy Go Lucky
Lonesome Gal
Miss Molly

Silver Spurs (REP, 1943); Roy Rogers, Sons of
the Pioneers
Jubilation Jamboree
Tumbling Tumbleweeds

Silver Trails (MON, 1948); Jimmy Wakely

Sing, Cowboy, Sing (GN, 1937); Tex Ritter
Cowboy Medicine Show
Goodbye Old Paint
Sing, Cowboy, Sing
Twilight Reverie

Sing Me a Song of Texas (COL, 1945); Hoosier
Hot Shots, Foy Willing & the Riders of the
Purple Sage

Sing, Neighbor, Sing (REP, 1944); Roy Acuff,
Lulubelle & Scotty, Jimmy Riddle, "Pappy"
Cheshire, Milo Twins, Carolina Cotton, Ruth
Terry

Easy Rocking Chair
Not a Word from Home
Sing, Neighbor, Sing

Singing Brakeman (COL, 1928); Jimmie Rodgers
Blue Yodel
Daddy and Home
Waiting for the Train

Singing Buckaroo (S/P, 1937); Fred Scott,
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Singing Cowboy (REP, 1936); Gene Autry
Down in Old Slumberland
Empty Cot
I'll be Thinking of You Little Gal
Listen to the Mockingbird
My Old Saddle Pal
Rainbow Trail
True Blue Bill
Washboard
We're on the Air
Yahoo

Singing Cowgirl (RN, 1939); Dorothy Page

Singing Dude (WB Short, 1940); Dennis Morgan

Singing Guns (REP, 1950); Vaughn Monroe
Mexicali Trail
Mule Train
Singing My Way Back Home

Singing Hills (REP, 1941); Gene Autry, Smiley
Burnette, Virginia Dale
Blueberry Hill
Last Roundup
Let a Smile Be Your Umbrella
Patsy's Birthday routine
Sail the Seven Seas
There's Nothing Like a Good Old-
Fashioned Hoe Down
Tumble Down Shack in Havana

Singin' in the Corn (COL, 1946); Judy Canova
Ma, He's Making Eyes at Me

Singing in the Saddle (unk.); Hoosier Hot Shots,
Jimmy Wakely

Singing on the Trail (COL, 1946); Deuce Spriggins
& His Band, Hoosier Hot Shots, Plainsmen,
Four Chicks and Chuck
Put the Blame on Mame

Singing Outlaw (REP, 1938); Gene Autry
Jail Song
There's a Ring around the Moon

Singing Outlaw (UNIV, n/d); Bob Baker
I Long for the Hills of Wyoming

RECORD REVIEWS

THE MADDOX BROTHERS AND ROSE--ON THE AIR: 1940 and 1945 (Arhoolie 5028). First commercial release of two radio programs by the popular country music group of the 1940s and fifties. Selections: *Theme/A Cowboy Has to Yell, Let Me Ride My Pony Down the Sunset Trail, Once I Had a Darling Mother, Hold that Critter Down, I'm Talking About You, I'm Going to the Hoedown, Theme/Small Town Mama; Mama Please Stay Home with Me, If You Ain't Got the Do-Re-Mi, I Might Have Known, I'll Reap My Harvest in Heaven, Don't Hang Around Me Any More, A Sinner's Prayer is Never Answered, The Girl I Love Don't Pay Me No Mind, Write Me Sweetheart, I'm a Handy Man to Have Around, I've Rambled Around/Theme*. Jacket liner notes by Chris Strachwitz.

THE MADDOX BROTHERS AND ROSE: FAMILY FOLKS (Bear Family BFX 15083). Reissue of 16 sides originally recorded for Columbia between 1952 and 1957. Titles: *Tall Man, I'll Go Steppin' Too, One-Two-Three-Four, Did You Ever Come Home, I Wonder If I Can Lose the Blues This Way, Marry Me Again, Burrito Joe, I'm a Little Red Caboose, Cocquita of Laredo, On Mexico's Beautiful Shores, I'll Make Sweet Love to You, Kiss Me Quick and Go, Little Willie Waltz, Let This Be the Last Time, Wish You Would A Beautiful Bouquet*.

Billed in the 1940s as "The Most Colorful Hillbilly Band in America," the popular family group of the Maddox Brothers (Fred, Cal, Henry, John, Ken) and their sister Rose were one of country music's hottest acts in the late 1940s and early 1950s. From Alabama, the family moved out to California in 1933 when Rose was eight years old to find greener pastures during the dry Depression years.

The Arhoolie disc contains two rare acetates of early radio broadcasts--probably the earliest material of the Maddoxes to be preserved--certainly the earliest available on LP to date. The first half of the disc is a 15-minute 1950 show from station KFBK in Sacramento, an appearance that resulted from the group's having won a talent contest at the California State Fair the previous fall. The second side is a program from station KGDM of Stockton. On the earlier program the group is lively but green; Rose gives only the subtlest of hints of the singing talents that were to emerge five or six years later--in fact, she scarcely sounds her fourteen-and-a-half years. By the time of the 1945 show the group was only a year from their first recordings with Four Star Records, and their style was close to established. Their material consisted, at this time, mostly of contemporary hillbilly standards. "Do-Re-Mi" is one of the earliest recordings of Woody Guthrie's popular composition (later they recorded and popularized another composition of his, "Reno Blues," which they retitled "Philadelphia Lawyer"). "Mama Please Stay Home with Me" is a good solo by Rose on sentimental ballad, probably composed late in the nineteenth century, about a child who vainly pleads with its mother not to go to the dance and then is found near death when she returns home late that night.

Many listeners regard the group's recordings for Four Star (1946-51) as their best material, with its heavy rockabilly elements but still a significant fraction of old-time stringband and gospel material (and even one British traditional Child ballad!). As they moved into the Columbia phase of their work, some of the fire and wackiness was tamed out of the band. This is the period represented by the Bear Family (a West German label) release. By now Rose's voice had deepened and matured considerably, and she had developed into one of the most skillful country music singers to record. Fire and zaniness by the brothers have been replaced by polish and slickness. Unlike the early 1940s, when Fred took as many of the vocal leads as anyone, by the 1950s most of the singing was done by Rose, with the brothers providing instrumental accompaniment and occasional choruses. The earlier instrumentation of guitar, harmonica, bass, and later mandolin, is replaced, on the Columbia recordings, by electric guitar, steel guitar, fiddle, drums, and bass. The LP, produced in cooperation with CBS (in 1981), contains no liner notes, but complete recording data (place, date, master numbers).

Though the Maddox Brothers and Rose broke up as a group in 1957, Rose continued her own career, producing, in the 1960s, some of her most exciting material as she turned to bluegrass repertoire and styling. She continues to make records as she approaches her sixtieth birthday.

TENNESSEE: THE FOLK HERITAGE, VOL. 1--THE DELTA (Tennessee Folklore Society TFS 102). A collection of reissues of commercial recordings and some recent noncommercial material. Selections: Beale St. Originals, Mr. Crump Don't 'Low; Grandma Dixie Davis & Harry Godwin, *Memphis Blues*; Big Sam Clark & group, *Jammin' the Blues*; Mose Vinson, *One Room Country Shack*; Roosevelt Sykes, *Backyard Blues*; Choir of the Lambert Church of God in Christ, *Memphis, Keep Me With a Mind, I Love the Lord*; Memphis Slim, *Memphis on the Mississippi*; Furry Lewis, *My Baby Don't Want Me*; Joe Dobbins, *Good Morning Blues*; Red Williams & group, *Dewey's Blues*; Memphis Minnie Lawler, *Nothin' in Ramblin'*. Assembled, produced, and edited by Harry E. Godwin.

TENNESSEE: THE FOLK HERITAGE, VOL. 2--THE MOUNTAINS (Tennessee Folklore Society TFS 103). Field recordings made in 1966-1979 by Thomas Burton and Ambrose Madding, Bobby Fulcher, Charles Wolfe, Steve Davis, Dave Korvell, Richard Blaustein, Anderson J. Orr, Jr., Doyle Jones, Ron Williams, and Jesse Hudelston. Selections: Delsie Hicks, *The Hills of Roane County, My Parents Raised Me Tenderly*; Dee Hicks, *Davy Crockett*; Audrey McGuire, *The House Carpenter*; Hamper McBee, *Knoxville Girl*; Jesse Hudelston & band, *Ballad of the Braswell Boys*; T. J. "Uncle Jake" Box, *Lucky Tiger Ointment*; Mrs. B. D., *The Lunatic Asylum*; Barbee Bros., *Citaco*; Payne Bros., *Shortenin' Bread*; Nonnie Presson & Bulow Smith, *Polecat Blues*; Clarence Ferrill & band, *Grey Eagle*; Omer Forster, *Stone's Rag*; Uncle Jimmy McCarroll, *Train 111*, *Fiddler a Dram, Dog and Cat Rag*; Cordell Kemp, *Schoolhouse Song*; Lewis Bros., *Nashville Blues*. Produced by Charles Wolfe.

HISTORICAL BALLADS OF THE TENNESSEE VALLEY (Tennessee Folklore Society TFS 105). Selection of commercial recordings from the 1920s and '30s, and field recordings made by Brent Cantrell, Steve Davis, Betsy Peterson, Bobby Fulcher, and Charles Wolfe between ca. 1950 and 1982. Includes 24-page brochure with song texts and background notes by editor/producer Charles Wolfe. Selections: Dee Hicks, *Old Cumberland Land*; Bob Atcher, *Hunters of Kentucky*; Russ Vandergriff, *Hickman's Boys*; Linnie Johnson, *Raftman's Song*; Jerry Henderson, *The Steam Arm*; Mr. & Mrs. J. W. Baker, *Newmarket Wreck*; Roy Harper, *Shut Up in the Mines of Coal Creek, TVA Song*; Uncle Dave Macon, *The Bible's True*; Tom Spencer, *Death of Floyd Collins*; Fred Ford, *Big Bend Tragedy*; Leola Manning, *Arcade Bldg. Moan*; Aaron Sims, *Kirby Cole*; Pinewood Tom, *Silicosis is Killin' Me*; Cope Bros., *She Sleeps Beneath the Norris Dam*; Ollan Smith & Dennis Brewer, *Tragedy of Spring City*.

Producing a good album of traditional music is a lesson in the often despairing tradeoff between commercial necessities and aesthetic ideals. Until a few years ago, most collectors who wanted to issue their material on LP went to one of the small number of companies devoted to folk music (Folkways, Folk Legacy, Prestige, Tradition, etc.), thus handing over the business matters to someone presumably with more experience in that area. Recently, several institutions have chosen another route by starting their own companies, thereby retaining more complete control over all the aspects of the record production. In 1976, the Tennessee Folklore Society decided to issue on LP a cross-section of material that members had been collecting in the previous four decades; the first two albums listed here were the immediate result of that decision, issued, respectively, in 1979 and ca. 1982. The third album under review was issued not long afterward. The three albums illustrate how the Society has gradually gained experience in album production and improved its product. TFS 102 includes some interesting material, all fairly well recorded, but without any strong sense of unity other than it was supposed to document the music of the Memphis/Delta region and the emergence of the blues. The first two titles thus present W. C. Handy's early campaign song for E. H. Crump and his 1912 rewrite of it, titled "Memphis Blues." Other material is not so closely tied to the development of the blues genre in the notes, though it does represent a cross-section of blues styles (and two church songs) from the region. Documentation on the recordings is annoyingly incomplete. In the case of the several commercial artists we are not told whether these are reissues of commercial recordings or previously unissued material; or when and where most of the selections were recorded. The jacket refers to "notes inside," but these are nothing more than some sketchy comments, lyrics to two songs, and two reproductions from the Congressional Record (one to honor the city of Memphis as home of the blues; the other to honor Memphis Slim) printed on one side of the inner sleeve.

TFS 103 is considerably better organized. The first side of the LP is devoted to songs and ballads and includes some outstanding singers, including both Delta and Dee Hicks of Fentress County, Hamper McBee of Grundy County, and others with a nice selection of British ballads and rare native American pieces. Side B, subtitled "instrumentals and songs," includes a couple performances by one-time commercial artists (Presson & Smith, the Perry County Music Makers; and McCarroll, fiddler for the Roane County Ramblers), and ends with a lovely "cover" of the Delmore Bros.' smooth harmonies on their composition, "Nashville Blues." A small four-page enclosed brochure gives essential recording data and brief notes on the performers's backgrounds and the songs themselves.

The third album, TFS 105, is the strongest of the three, not only in thematic coherence, but also in documentation. The selections concern a broad variety of specific local tragedies and events as well as more generalized issues and regional concerns. The selections on the LP are arranged chronologically, from "Old Cumberland Land," a (fragmentary, in this recording) ballad dealing with

the settlement of the upper Cumberland in the early nineteenth century, to "Tragedy of Spring City," about a 1955 collision between a school bus and train that resulted in eleven deaths. Several of the recordings are from commercial sources: those of the Bakers, Macon, Manning, Pinewood Tom (Josh White), and Smith & Brewer. However, original recording data are not given for these; and it is unclear from the booklet what arrangements were made for the use of these recordings. The rendition by the Cope Brothers is not their popular 1945 King version, but a later field recording made in 1982. Similarly, Atcher's recording is not the 1947 Columbia waxing, but one "recorded ca. 1950 by an anonymous radio station employee." Several of the songs have never been recorded or printed previously. All together this album strikes a good balance between the familiar and the unusual.

RECORDS BRIEFLY NOTED

THE LOUISIANA FOLKLIFE CENTER's first three records, issued in 1980-82, have not been noted in JEMFQ. *Cornbread for Your Husband and Biscuits for Your Man: Mr. Clifford Blake, Sr., Calls the Cotton Press* (LFRS LP-001) is the most unusual of the three, featuring songs, tales, and oral narrative by a long-time resident of Matchitoches, Louisiana. Blake has worked for some five decades at cotton compresses, and three tracks deal with this occupation; noteworthy is a rarely (if ever) recorded cotton press call, which Blake avers helps "you press fifty bales more an hour." Among the tales are one "John" tale, one a Brer Rabbit tale, and some animal tales. The record is accompanied by an issue of *Louisiana Folklife* that includes three articles about Blake, effectively serving as a record brochure. These articles deal with black speech as exemplified by Blake (written by J. L. Dillard); calling the cotton press (Donald W. Hatley); and Blake as a bearer of Afro-American folk narrative tradition (James W. Byrd). *The North Louisiana String Band* (LFRS LP-002) features an old-time string band recorded at the 1980 Natchitoches Folk Festival, shortly before the untimely death of its fiddler, Ray Beebe. The second side features various North Louisiana musicians playing with the band in a makeshift studio in the same year. Accompanying the record is the March 1981 issue of *Louisiana Folklife*, consisting of history of the band, details about the circumstances of the recordings, and notes to the songs, all by Susan Roach-Lankford. *Since Ol' Gabriel's Time: Hezekiah and the Houserockers* (LFRS LP-003) features an unusual blues band from Ferriday, Louisiana, recorded in part there (in 1981) and in part at the Natchitoches Folk Festival of 1981. The band consists of Hezekiah Early, drums, harmonica, and vocals; Peewee Whittington/Whittaker (the LP jacket gives one surname, the booklet, another), trombone and vocals; and James Baker, electric guitar. Like the above-mentioned albums, this one also comes with an issue of *Louisiana Folklife* that constitutes the brochure notes, written by David Evans and including extensive biographical information and brief notes on the selections. These include several original compositions, covers of familiar blues and R&B titles by such artists as B. B. King and T. Bone Walker; traditional blues; a revised version of "St. Louis Blues"; and a Delmore Brothers hillbilly blues tune.

FOLKWAYS RECORDS continues with its rambling series of reissues of ragtime/blues/novelty piano music compiled by David A. Jasen. *Ragtime Piano Novelties of the '20s* (Folkways RBF 42) includes 13 selections by American and English pianists recorded between 1922 and 1933. A few of the titles once enjoyed great popularity: "Pianoflage," "Nola," "Doll Dance," and "Rag Doll," in particular. Zez Confrey, one of the prime creators of the novelty piano rag, was also the arranger/performer of many piano roll renditions of contemporary favorites, a role that is explored on *The Piano Roll Artistry of Zez Confrey* (Folkways RBF 45). This disc includes 18 of his 174 piano rolls, cut between 1919 and 1925. Confrey's penchant for putting three or four notes where pianists of lesser mettle (or more restraint) would put only one, is illustrated amply on these popular songs and tunes of the day. *Swingin' Piano--1920-46* (Folkways RBF 46) is a more diverse collection of 16 piano recordings originally made over a spread of years that saw many changes in America's popular music tastes. Jazz and pop hits are played in a variety of styles--blues, ragtime, novelty, rag, stride--by Eubie Blake ("Ma"), Albert Ammons ("St. Louis Blues"), Fats Waller ("Sweet Savannah Sue"), Frank Banta ("I Wonder Where My Baby is Tonight"), Pete Wendling ("Usen't You Use To Be My Sweetie") and lesser knowns. Two highlights on the album are Garland Wilson's recording of his own composition, "Shim Sham Drag," and Pauline Albert's unusual interpretation of "Sweet Sue," made in 1946. *Jelly Roll Morton Piano Classics: 1923-24* (Folkways RBF 47) includes 19 recordings made by Morton in one two-year period in chronological order, mostly for the Gennett Company. All but three are his own compositions. For each of these albums, Jasen provides brief notations on the songs, composers, and/or performers, and points out musical highlights in three- or four-page brochure inserts.

BOOK REVIEWS

OZARK FOLKSONGS, by Vance Randolph. Edited and abridged by Norm Cohen (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982); xxvi + 590 pp., discography, bibliography, indices, cloth \$34.00; paper, \$14.95.

Considering the virtually complete republication of Vance Randolph's important four-volume collection of *Ozark Folksongs* (Columbia, Mo., 1980), one approaches Norm Cohen's one-volume abridgement asking, "Why?" Cohen justifies the abridgement on the grounds that,

it can make readily available to students, scholars, and other interested readers a model American folksong collection, one that demonstrates the wide range of folksongs traditional in one region of the United States during the first half of the twentieth century and exemplifies the way such a collection is presented to the public by a careful and caring editor/collector. Furthermore, it affords an opportunity to update the scholarly apparatus for at least a portion of the songs, and, to a lesser extent, to enrich our impression of Vance Randolph by drawing on other sources, some heretofore unpublished, that shed light on his methods, attitudes, and skills.

The abridgement amply supports Cohen's contentions. One cannot argue with the selection of songs felt to be representative of both the collection and of the region. (Cohen includes "Beautiful, Beautiful Brown Eyes," "I Have No Loving Mother Now," "Why Do You Bob Your Hair, Girls," and "Once I Had a Sweetheart," among the fourteen omitted from the republished edition for copyright reasons.) There is a relatively brief but important introduction dealing not only with the materials of the collection and with the policies, but with Vance Randolph, who ranks as one of the most important collectors and publishers of folk traditions in the United States--as well as a charming and delightful person. And Cohen appends a discussion and listing of recorded Ozark folk music. No serious student of folk music should be without either the republished *Ozark Folksongs* or Norm Cohen's abridgement.

There is no reason to belabor the importance of Vance Randolph and his work, or to detail the contents of *Ozark Folksongs*. Rather I wish to dwell on what to me is the most important part of the abridged edition: the updating of the "scholarly apparatus." Composing a headnote to a folksong can be a tricky matter. A good headnote trembles on the verge of a fullblown article. A bad headnote gives inadequate or erroneous information, or will slavishly copy the references of other collections. Cohen, with his usual knowledge and skill, presents the basic information and references. Clearly, and probably correctly, he does not seek to be exhaustive, but does provide unusual and significant references, such as those to issued and unissued recordings and to copyright information. In what I believe to be the spirit and performance of his annotations, I take the opportunity to add a few further references--or sometimes questions and comments--none of which reflect on the integrity of Cohen's annotations.

The notes to "Barbara Allen" (p. 42) fail to mention the significant study of Eleanor R. Long, "Young Man, I Think You're Dyin'" (*Fabula* 21 (1980: 183-189), which probably appeared too late for inclusion. On page 67 Cohen states that the term *vulgar ballads* refers to "their appropriation by the common folk," when in correct usage it now refers to a ballad style or "idea." I fail to agree that "Willie Moore" (pp. 90-92) is "clearly of British origin." There is no external evidence, and the language points only to northern or "literary" influence. (All the "signatures" I have seen or heard refer to "the farthest west" as the locale.) The notes to "Frankie and Johnnie" (pp. 166-168) could have included reference to John R. David's thesis ("Tragedy in Ragtime: Black Folktales from St. Louis," St. Louis University, 1976). Annotating a blues ballad is not easy, but the notes to "My Father Was a Gambler" (p. 173) should mention its inclusion by Laws as DE 43, as well as references to "Dixon and Johnson" (pp. 74-75) and Austin and Alta S. Fife, *Cowboy and Western Songs* (New York, 1969), No. 92. At least "Grandpa" Jones's "I've Been All Around This World" (King 524) should be added to the list of recordings. "Joe Bowers" (pp. 190-195) is related to "The Red Haired Man's Wife," particularly versions in the Irish language. "Devilish Mary" (pp. 331-333) is

known in Ireland and England as "The Wearing of the Breeches" or "The Tailor by Trade." (See Peter Kennedy, *Folksongs of Britain and Ireland* [London, 1974], No. 217. To Kennedy's references add a songster text from Limerick in the National Library of Ireland and Folktracks FSB 019.) The notes on "The Warranty Deed" do not mention the recordings by Jimmy Driftwood: Victor LPM 1635; Monument 8043/18043.

The John A. Lomax papers at the University of Texas, Austin, contain two bawdy versions of "Root Hog or Die" (pp. 347-349), one of which Lomax expurgated for *Cowboy Songs* (1910). (See also Fife and Fie, No. 11.) "Companions Draw Nigh" (pp. 429-431) appears as "Dying Boy's Prayer" by the Blue Sky Boys on Bluebird 6621 and as "Only a Prayer" by Andrew Jenkins and Carson Robison on Okeh 45134. ("Dying Boy's Prayer" by Wade Mainer and Zeke Morris on Bluebird 7165 is a different song.) "Palms of Victory" is a perennial in gospel songbooks. Hedy West performed a parody, "Pans of Gravy," on Vanguard VRS-9162. In the notes to "Only a Brakeman" (pp. 445-447), Cohen questions Randolph's gloss of "state plain" as "stake." Randolph is certainly correct, as the reference is to the Llano Estacado in west Texas. To the notes on "The Blind Child" add Bill Ellis, "The Blind Girl" and the Rhetoric of Sentimental Heroism, *Journal of American Folklore* 91 (1978): 657-674. "The Last Farewell" (pp. 495-496) appears as "Too Late," without note of author or date of publication in Sigmund Spaeth's *Weep Some More, My Lady* (Garden City, NY, 1927), pp. 33-34. It was recorded by the Weaver Brothers as "You Came Back to Me" (Columbia 15487-D), by the Carter Family as "Lover's Return" (Bluebird 5586 etc.), by The Stoneman Family as "Too Late" (Victor V-40206), and by Roy Acuff as "The Broken Heart" (Okeh 05820).

I hope these additions will be as helpful as Cohen's own annotations are.

--D. K. Wilgus
University of California
Los Angeles, California

BLUES & GOSPEL RECORDS, 1902-1943, by Robert M. W. Dixon and John Godrich (Chigwell, Sussex, England: Storyville Publications and Co., Ltd., 1982), 900 pp; index to accompanists.

This welcome revision is actually a third edition of *Blues & Gospel Records, 1902-1942*, with coverage extended a year forward and a considerable amount of new material added. John Cowley has researched Library of Congress field recordings exhaustively, and new coverage in this area is particularly impressive. In addition, numerous file data in record company archives has been re-examined, resulting in first-time documentation of many sessions and fleshed out details of others. Still, a work as ambitious as this one is never really complete, and the authors have added a couple of pages of updated data at the end, representing data received while the book was in its final stages of preparation.

The reader should be advised that I have had a small part in this work's preparation, especially since I find relatively little to criticize in the final result. But this should cast only a small shadow over my objectivity, since my contributions were in the submission of data, rather than in an editorial capacity. My reactions, therefore, are that of a user. As such, I do have a few problems with the book, though these do not constitute any reservations about either its overall excellence or the degree of its improvement over earlier editions.

One element which is inherently problematic for compilers of any generic discography (or bibliography) is what to include and omit as one approaches the flexible borders which define the field. This is where a reviewer is tempted to sit in superior judgment and proclaim his choices amongst the marginalia which should either have been put in or booted out. I won't do that, I hope, by pointing out that such judgments are made by people considerably removed in time and cultural roots from those whose music this was, and that certain decisions amount to our imposing retrospective evaluations of historic black tastes. In some cases recordings are excluded because they are covered in Brian Rust's *Jazz Records*, though many others are included--unnecessarily perhaps--in both works. At the same time some material felt to be over-sophisticated is left out. This applies principally to gospel groups like the Pace Jubilee Singers and the Fisk University Jubilee Quartet, who are dismissed as being of "little interest." This is arguable, to say the least, especially since much of these groups' material was universally popular and shared with many groups who were included. My own feeling is that any material made expressly for the record companies' "race" series should be included unless it is documented in *Jazz Records* or another readily accessible source. I would even go so far as to say that recordings by such as Carroll Clark, Paul Robeson, Marian Anderson, and the Hall Johnson Choir could be included where their music is derived from vernacular sources. The

same goes for many spoken word recordings by black artists. Sure, they never made "race" records *per se*, but they represent one focus of black musical tradition and their work still has many admirers.

These arguments concern the book's periphery only; the large central core documents thousands of recordings whose importance is not in dispute. As users of previous editions know, these are documented as to title, performer(s), date, place, and record company matrix and release numbers. The latter are given for 78-rpm issues only; lp issues are not included unless they represent the original release of a performance. Matrix numbers present a problem for recordings from the Brunswick/Vocalion group prior to April 1928. Until that time, consecutive numbers were assigned to each successively recorded matrix (e.g., C-748, C-749), unlike the practice of other companies, which used letter (e.g., 15906-A, 15906-B) or number (e.g., 151092-1, 151092-2) suffixes to denote different takes of the same title. When such recordings were assigned release numbers, say on the Brunswick label, they were given control numbers (e.g., C-748/749 became E 22683/84). Whereas other companies stamped the take designation in the wax (whether or not the master number was also given), Brunswick/Vocalion had the last two digits of the control number. Thus, on the above example, the wax would have either 83 or 84, depending whether the master used was 748 or 749. Occasionally the same release would appear on both the Brunswick and the Vocalion labels, with different control numbers in each case. Additionally, another set of control numbers might be assigned in New York for recordings made on out-of-town field trips. It thus is very helpful to have the control numbers as well as the master numbers given in a discography in order to correlate different pressings from one title. Undeniably, the documentation of these bits of data requires an unwieldy system of numerology, and unfortunately, *B&GR* has chosen to omit the control numbers, a mistake which I hope will be reconsidered in future editions, since, as with other master numbering systems, they are essential for identifying different takes.

The thirty-five-dollar price tag is minimal for this densely packed and informative guide, and could in no way begin to compensate the authors and contributors for their many years of exacting and conscientious labors. Even if you own an earlier edition, this one has enough new information to make it a worthwhile purchase. Now all we need to see is publication of that country music discography...

--Dick Spottswood
Silver Spring, Maryland

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DR. RECORDS' ORIGINAL 78 RPM PRICE GUIDE. By Peter A. Soderbergh, Ph.D. (Des Moines: Wallace-Homestead Book Co., 1983). 256 pp., papercovers, \$9.95. This recent release is more than just an expanded version of Soderbergh's earlier *78 RPM RECORDS*, reviewed in *JEMFO* #54 (1979). The main portion of the book is an alphabetical listing of recording artists, mostly jazz and pop, with estimated values of each 78 listed. Brief interludes discuss the 1942-44 record ban, high-value jazz 78s, a list of prominent recordings made each day of the year, a list of dance band vocalists, a big band era movie guide, a trivia quiz, and a short list of classical records and their values.

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